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December, 1943

AMERICAN SPEECH

A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage

American Slang in Australia

SIDNEY J. BAKER

Place-Naming in the Northwest

A. H. SYLVESTER

Kipling's Barrack-Room Language

HENRY W. WELLS

Articles by

R. G. LILLARD, THOMAS A. SEBEOK

ARGUS TRESIDDER

Reviews by

H. M. JONES, MARGARET M. BRYANT

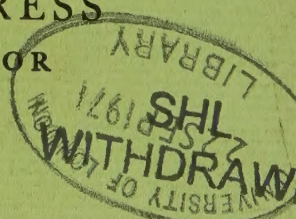
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¶ It is our guess that very few men have had more to do with place-naming in America than A. H. SYLVESTER, or could write about their activities more entertainingly. He says, 'There is no complete count of the place names which I was instrumental in placing on our maps but their number is approximately 3000.' He is a Fellow of the American Geographical Society and a Senior Member of the Society of American Foresters. ¶ SIDNEY J. BAKER is already known to our readers through his article, 'French Beach-la-Mar in New Caledonia,' printed in *American Speech* in February of this year. ¶ RICHARD G. LILLARD, at present Instructor in English at Indiana University, is a native of California but, he says, 'not a professional Californian.' Holder of the Ph.D. degree in American Civilization from the State University of Iowa, he is also the author of *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada* (1942) and (with Otis W. Coan) of *America in Fiction: An Annotated List of Novels that Interpret Aspects of Life in the United States* (1941). ¶ Though not a native Virginian, ARGUS TRESIDDER is one of our most active students of the speech of that state. Readers of *American Speech* will remember his article, 'Notes on Virginia Speech,' in our issue of April, 1941. Professor of English at Madison College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, he is at present on active duty with the U. S. Naval Reserve. ¶ HENRY W. WELLS is Associate in English in Columbia University, and the author of numerous critical studies of English literature. His most recent book, *The American Way of Poetry*, was published last Spring. ¶ THOMAS A. SEBEOK is a specialist in linguistics, particularly in Finno-Ugric and Southeast Asiatic languages; at present he is teaching Finnish and Hungarian to Army students at Indiana University.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

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PLACE-NAMING IN THE NORTHWEST*

A. H. SYLVESTER

Wenatchee, Washington

I WAS A topographer of the USGS for about thirteen years, my field activities confined to Arizona and the three Pacific Coast states. Following my transfer to the Forest Service in the spring of 1908 I was assigned as supervisor of the Wenatchee National Forest and remained in that position until my retirement in 1931. I am giving you this sketchy outline that you may get the sphere of my activities in place-naming.

I didn't contract the habit very intensely in the Survey, though a considerable number of my names are scattered up and down the Coast. Coming into the Forest Service and finding that in fire protection work it was very desirable, even imperative, that natural features capable of being named should have names as an aid in locating fires and sending in crews to combat them, I began place-naming more diligently.

In the Survey, topographers did not ordinarily introduce new names. They only endeavored to secure and place on their maps such names as were already in use at the time of their survey. It followed, therefore, that topographic sheets of this western country and particularly the mountain sections, where settlement and other activities were to a considerable extent missing, showed relatively few place names.

I was more fortunate than many supervisors in that my forest was covered by the Survey's topographic maps, but it took a period of several years before an adequate map of the whole forest was compiled from the material at hand. The first forest maps were not too good, but every winter we prepared revisions of them, and every two or three years new editions were printed including the corrections submitted since the previous edition. All the forests now have maps which are very good and quite complete.

* This article is somewhat abridged from a letter written by Mr. Sylvester to Professor George R. Stewart, of the University of California, in January of this year. The editors of *American Speech* are grateful for the opportunity of presenting it to our readers. It is easy to make conjectures about the origins of place names, but it is only rarely that we have a first-hand account such as this one.

New place names were submitted with each map revision. I seldom went on a field trip without coming back with some new names to add to the map. As the years went on, the rangers and other forest officers began to help with the good work. Many names were added in the office while getting the map revision report ready to submit to the regional headquarters.

One name that puzzled me for a considerable time but which I later got a great kick out of was 'Pomas Creek,' submitted by Ranger Jim McKenzie. 'Apple?' I pondered. There are no apples up in that territory, even though Wenatchee is one of the great apple growing districts of the world. Finally I got it. What Jim meant was 'Pumice Creek.' There is an area of possibly a thousand square miles in the northern end of the Wenatchee Forest and extending across Lake Chelan into the Chelan Forest that is covered with a blanket of pumice from 50 to 100 feet thick blown out from Glacier Peak in what was probably its last eruption. This little creek runs through a great bed of it. I am not changing Jim's name, however. It is too rich.

Each succeeding map revision showed more names, until now there are few features unchristened. My activity along this line spurred other supervisors to the same endeavor, so that the forest maps of today are literally alive with names.

Coming to the Forest and the Forest Service rather late in the spring of 1908 I was too busy that year in getting acquainted with my new job to get out very much over the rougher parts of the area or give thought to names. I did, however, get in two memorable trips late in the fall. Good soakings, too, both trips. At the head of the Entiat River I saw a brilliant evening display of Aurora Borealis, and that night got a soaking to remember. The Aurora and the storm gave a little creek entering the river near my camp the name of Aurora, and the ridge to the north of it became Borealis. The Buck Creek Pass area is, I think, the most beautiful place in the Cascade Mountains. The two heights that guard the pass to north and south I named Helmet Butte and Liberty Cap. A mile and a half northwest of the pass there is a round-topped, unscarred, grass- and flower-covered hill which looks down into the mile-deep canyon of Suiattle River and across it to glacier-crowned and scarred Glacier Peak. Helmet Butte and Liberty Cap are well enough, but I am glad I had the wit to give the name of Flower Dome to the hill.

Nineteen-nine was a bad fire year, but rather late in its fall Ranger Burne Canby and I made a trip into the high country of the Icicle Creek Watershed. Trails were very sketchy affairs or there weren't any. Rather late one evening we camped in a little meadow well up toward the top

of Icicle Ridge. It was cold. We didn't realize how cold until the next morning when we found our meadow heavily covered with white frost. I hadn't been giving any names thus far on this trip but called the meadow Frosty and the little creek that ran through it Frosty Creek. Packing up we rode to the summit of Icicle Ridge (named so later) to a fairly low pass which I called Frosty Pass. We turned east along the ridge and hadn't gone far when we saw below us in a glacial pocket a beautiful lake of perhaps sixty acres. I had with me a copy of the Chiwaukum Quadrangle which covers the area through which we were traveling and turned to it to find the name of the lake, but lo and behold, it was not shown. The topographers had missed it. I sketched it in and asked Burne what we should call it. He had two sisters, Margaret and Mary. I said, 'We will call it Margaret.' We had ridden but a little more than a quarter of a mile farther when another lake showed up not very far below us but draining down to Margaret. This promptly became Mary.

We were in the mountain-meadow type of country now, than which there is none more beautiful. Somewhat tired from several previous hard days we made camp here for a rest and to let our horses fill up on the best grass we had encountered. The next morning we continued eastward along Icicle Ridge, which shadows Icicle Creek from its head to its junction with Wenatchee River. We climbed over a slippery shoulder and hadn't gone far when before us, sheltered under a timbered cliff and glittering in the morning sun, was another lake likewise unmapped and unnamed. Margaret and Mary had a friend, so this became Lake Florence.

This was getting interesting and I said to Burne, 'If we find another we will name it for Mrs. Sylvester.' We rode on past Florence and rounded the shoulder of a little ridge making down from Icicle Ridge, and looking across a wide grassy slope, an ancient glacial cirque at the head of a small branch of the Icicle later called Spanish Camp Creek from a Spaniard who once ran sheep there, we saw glittering through alpine fir and hemlock the fourth lake already by agreement christened Alice. We were doing pretty well and getting on our mettle. We decided that if we discovered another lake, Flora, the wife of Ranger Green, should have it. Our trail led us up through a pass in the main ridge at the head of Spanish Camp Creek where we looked down on the north slope, and there was Lake Flora on a bench breaking over into one of the forks of Chiwaukum Creek. I have seen this lake on other occasions and from other angles, when its waters were as blue as the other mountain lakes in the region, but that morning looking down on it from above because of the angle of observation or peculiar atmospheric conditions it was a deep emerald green, very proper under the circumstances.

Eastward from the pass whence we saw Flora, a high sharp peak (I called it Cape Horn) stood in the way of our progress, but looking closely I discovered a trail climbing steep and narrow up and to the right. Somewhat scared we took it, and it led us around the mountain to where we got a view of mountain meadows in the head of another branch of Chiwaukum Creek where nestled in a hollow in a field of barren rock was our sixth lake, Edna, from Burne's best girl. We made camp in the meadows and thought we had had a pretty good day.

The next day there was considerable difficulty with the trail, but we found a way through and found three more lakes. Two of these were shown on the topographic map but one incorrectly as to size. I named these two Augusta and Ida from my mother and my wife's sister. The third was the largest we saw on the trip. It lies in a deep glacial cirque on the north side of Cashmere Mountain at an elevation of about 5500 feet. I do not wonder the topographers missed it. The point from which we saw it is a high peak on the Icicle Ridge, from which we looked straight up the canyon in which it lies. I doubt if it can be seen from any other vantage point. I named it Victoria from England's queen.

That ended the lake finding and naming for that trip. I have gone into it at such length because it marked the beginning of a practice we followed on the Forest for years. There are approximately 150 lakes and ponds on the Forest, some of the smaller ones not yet named. The numbers of ladies' lakes grew until practically all rangers' and other Forest Service men's wives, sisters, sweethearts, mothers and daughters had lakes named for them. There is a good story on me in connection with the group of lakes into the naming of which I have just gone into detail. After the names got on the Forest map and began to be known, a group of men from Cashmere, game enthusiasts, went out to plant the lakes with trout fry. Near Lake Flora they found still another lake which I and other forest officers had missed and which was neither named nor shown on the map. 'Huh!' said Jack Gonser, 'This must be Lake Brigham.' When they returned they told me of it with great glee. I told them, 'Fine, it shall be Lake Brigham.' And now Brigham is on the map surrounded by his harem.

You asked me if I had any system in my naming. The naming of lakes, as I have told above, was the nearest to systematic naming that I came. I did plan a system for naming the principal ridges or ranges. The main waterways were already named, in great measure by the Indians. The ranges and ridges between them were not. My system was all right in theory, but it bogged down in practice. I would call the ridge, range, or divide to the left looking upstream by the same name as the waterway.

This worked with the Chelan Mountains lying to the left of Lake Chelan, the Entiat Mountains to the left of the Entiat and Columbia Rivers, and the Chiwawa Ridge to the left of Chiwawa River, then Biff! I got White Mountain between the two forks of White River, and by the time I reached the ridge between White River and Little Wenatchee River I had switched my stance and Wenatchee Ridge lay to the right of Little Wenatchee River looking upstream. Nason Ridge, the Chiwaukum Mountains, and Icicle Ridge follow the switched-over plan, lying to the right of their correspondingly named water courses looking upstream.

The name 'Wenatchee Mountains' was applied by the topographers or someone who preceded them, possibly the Army in the days when there was a post at Fort Simcoe, to the eastern end of the divide separating the two master valleys of the region, the Wenatchee and Yakima, but I have extended it to include the whole length of this divide extending from the Columbia River on the east to the crest of the Cascade Mountains on the west.

In the Kittitas County part of the Forest, that part in the Yakima River drainage area, I have continued naming the main ridges from the waterway to the left looking upstream, that is the west, Teanaway Ridge, Kachess Ridge and Keechelus Ridge, and have just now discovered or realized that what should have been named the Cle Elum Mountains or Range, has never been named at all. I have taken steps to correct that by recommending it to my present successor in the office of forest supervisor.

Name Sources

Indian: Surviving names from the original inhabitants. Larger streams and lakes.

Chinook: A few existing names, that is, existing at the time when settlement was beginning by the whites. I have drawn on this source for some of my own naming.

Early Settlers: Mostly names of small streams and canyons, occasional mountains or peaks.

Miners and Prospectors: Lakes, peaks, streams. Some of these named by themselves, some by my men or myself.

Sheepmen: Some names, not very many, contributed by them, but mostly their surnames or given names have served as a handle for me.

Forest Service Men: Rangers and officers attached to my office aided me greatly in the lengthening lists.

Railroads: The Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railway Companies named all their stations.

Indian Names. Many Indian names survive in the Northwest, primarily

in stream names, some lakes and the great volcanic snow- and glacier-capped peaks. That is, they survive in history and story, but all too many are lost to common use and general knowledge. In fact very few of the Indian names for mountains and peaks are now in use. Streams and lakes have fared better. Here on the Wenatchee Forest most of the larger streams and some of the creeks retain their Indian names. We have Wenatchee, Entiat(*qua*), Chiwawa, Peshastin, Nahahum, Swakane, Stemilt, Naneum, Swauk, Teanaway, Cle Elum, Colockum, Tarpiscan, Quilomene, stream names, and Lakes Chelan, Keechelus, Kachess and Waptus. There are Lakes Wenatchee and Cle Elum, but the streams of the same names were probably the Indian names, the whites attaching the names to the lakes. There are also Kachess and Waptus Rivers, but in these cases the lakes are the more important features and probably were the ones named by the Indians.

It is interesting that the Indians of different tribes and geographic areas used different endings for their stream names. In the Puget Sound area it was *mish*, as witness *Snohomish*, *Duwamish*, *Skykomish*. *Snoqualmie* was undoubtedly first *Snoqualmish*. The Yakima tribes used the ending *um* or *eum* as in *Nameum*, *Umptanum*, *Taneum*, *Cle Elum*. In the Wenatchee district the ending was *qua*, and early maps show Entiat as Entiatqua, 'grassy water,' and the Columbia was Umpqua, 'big water.' Our present White River, which flows into Lake Wenatchee and with the Little Wenatchee furnishes the larger part of the water for the Wenatchee River, was called by the Indians Napequa, 'white or muddy water.' Last year the Board of Geographic Names approved my recommendation to change North Fork of White River, a considerable stream in its own right, to Napequa, thus re-establishing the old name. Both branches are glacier-fed and in hot weather very milky.

Wenatchee means 'great opening out of the mountains' (or 'river issuing from a canyon,' which amounts to the same thing), as the river debouches into the head of the Wenatchee Valley directly from a deep and rugged canyon, now called Tumwater, a Chinook word meaning 'rough water.' Other tribes called the Wenatchees the Wenatchee-pams, that is, the people living on the Wenatchee.

The first tributary of the Wenatchee River after it issues from Wenatchee Lake is Nason Creek. It gets its name from Charley Nason, a Wenatchee Indian, who had a squatter claim in its lower valley during early settlement days. I resent the name. His Indian name was Mow-nash-et. He boasted in his old age (of course he might have been a liar) that he and another Wenatchee Indian killed two white men on Ump-tanum Creek in about 1855, one of the killings that brought on the Yakima Indian War of that year. The Indian name for Nason Creek

was Na-ta'poc. I did not learn its meaning. I have preserved the name, however, by giving it to a mountain lying between the creek and the Wenatchee River.

Four miles below the mouth of Nason Creek the Wenatchee is joined by the Chiwawa River from the east which occupies a fine glacial valley extending approximately thirty miles southeastward from the Cascade Mountains summit. The 'wawa' part of this word is good Chinook and I had presumed it was a Chinook word but was told by my Wenatchee Indian informant, Louis Judd, that it is old Indian and means 'last canyon next to the mountains.' The next considerable stream emptying into the Wenatchee below the Chiwawa is Chiwaukum Creek. This is good Indian without any question and means 'Many little creeks running into big one,' which well describes the actual situation. Five branches of approximately equal size unite reasonably close together to make up the main stream.

At the head of the Wenatchee Valley and but little below where the river issues from its canyon it is joined by Icicle Creek. This word is a corruption or more properly a derogation of its Indian name which was Na'sik-elt. Place an *N* at the beginning of Icicle and a *T* at its end and you practically have the Indian word. I can imagine an early white asking an Indian the name of this stream. The Indian gutturally replied Nasikelt and, the white taking it as 'Icicle,' it has been taken that way ever since. The original word means 'narrow bottom canyon, or gorge.' And that is a very good description of the stream, though it does not give an adequate idea of its depth and grandeur.

Going on down the Wenatchee River about four miles we come to Peshastin Creek. It is on the route used by U.S. troops traveling from the Fort Simcoe Indian Reservation in the southern Yakima country to the Wenatchee valley in search of hostiles or to remove the Indians to the reservation. The records of early commanders speak of this as Pish Pish Astin Creek, which gives the same sound effect as the present spelling. The word means 'broad bottom canyon,' a very good description of the first eight or nine miles of it, the antithesis of Nasikelt.

I gather that the Indians had the ability to put into a word meanings, pictures, and descriptions that it takes our more complicated civilization sentences, even paragraphs and pages to convey.

Chinook Jargon. Chinook is a jargon devised by the Hudson Bay Company for the use of its factors and trappers in their dealings with the Northwest Indians and served too for communication between the tribes, each of which had at least to a certain extent its own language. It has a dictionary but no grammar. Inflection plays a considerable part in conveying varying meanings of the same word.

There are but few place names in Chinook in this district of a date prior to my entering the picture, and I have added relatively few. Chumstick Creek is a small stream entering the Wenatchee River just east of Leavenworth from the north. It means 'mark on a tree.'

Chikamin Creek is a tributary of the Chiwawa River. The earlier issues of the USGS Chiwaukum Quadrangle showed this stream as Chickerman Creek. I was unable to find any record of anyone known as Chickerman. The valley of the Chiwawa widens at the mouth of this stream into a flat of several hundred acres which was a favorite camping site for Indians and probably before the horse a village site. It was undoubtedly a place where the traders came to meet the Indians and buy their furs. Chikamin is Chinook for money or price. 'Concha chikamin' (What is your price, or Count your money) were words so often used and heard that the name became attached to the place and then to the stream. It is not surprising that the topographers unfamiliar with Chinook or the early history of the region wrote the word 'Chickerman,' presuming it was a man's name. Of course I could not take oath to all this, but the Board of Geographic Names accepted 'Chikamin,' and the stream is now shown with that name on later issues of the quadrangle.

Squillchuck, the name of a small stream entering the Columbia at Wenatchee, is Chinook. The word means brown or muddy water. Olallie is Chinook for berry, primarily the sarvice (often called service) berry but also used for the huckleberry.

I have used Chinook words in some of my naming. An Indian creek in the Entiat watershed has two branches. One I called Tillicum, 'friend,' and the other Kloochman, which usually means 'wife,' though it may sometimes mean women generally. A ridge between two important streams needed a name. It is of sandstone formation. Chinook has no word for sandstone, but sand is 'polallie,' so my ridge became Polallie Ridge.

In counting, three is 'klone.' Up near the Cascade Summit in the Icicle watershed lie three lakes with a common outlet. I called them 'Klonaqua Lakes.' You may say I was mixing Indian and Latin, a gross error, but in the Wenatchee tongue 'qua' is water, so I feel all right about it with just a mixture of Chinook and Wenatchee.

Klone Peak does not mean Three Peaks, for I named it from a dog of mine for which I paid three dollars and called him Klone. His full name was Klone Pesitkim, three and a half, for I hadn't him long until he killed a chicken for which I had to pay half a dollar.

Early Settlers' Names. The fur trappers and traders were the first outlanders to visit and make use of the Wenatchee and Yakima watersheds. They were probably in and out of the region from about 1812 to 1840 or 1845. It is not likely that their use was very intensive. They certainly left

little that remains in the way of names or monuments to tell of their vagrant occupancy.

There is a site on the Cle Elum River, a tributary of the Yakima, called Salmon la Sac, which smacks of the French voyageur. About 1910 or 1912 a ranger and I were cruising out a new trail route well up toward the head of the Little Wenatchee, following more or less a very dim old trail. We cut out an old blaze which had grown over. By counting the growth rings on the new wood that had grown over the old blaze we estimated that the blaze had been made between 1830 and 1840. Undoubtedly the work of the old fur trappers.

C. J. Conover, my assistant supervisor for a number of years, was daffy about Indian relics, artifacts and the like. At one time he dug into an old Indian house site on the banks of the Wenatchee River a few miles below Lake Wenatchee. Among other things he found copper kettles, which were favorite trade goods with fur traders. A pine tree estimated to be about a hundred years old had grown up through the house site since its abandonment, which again gave us a reasonable guess on the date of the traders' activities. Chumstick and Squillchuck Creeks, already mentioned herein, may well have been trader names.

A Catholic mission was established in the Wenatchee valley at what is now called Cashmere in 1863 by Father Raspari. Eventually a little town grew up there, which for many years was called Mission but was changed to Cashmere in 1904. Judge James A. Chase, a Cashmere citizen, who had visited the Vale of Kashmir, plugged for the new name and won. The name Mission survives in Mission Peak and Creek, the creek descending from high mountains to the south and joining the Wenatchee River at the town. The creek undoubtedly had an Indian name originally, but it has been completely lost.

The real settlement of the Wenatchee area by whites from 'back East' began in 1871 and continued through the 80's. The Great Northern railroad was built through in 1899. While new people continued to come for another ten years or more the period of early settlement may be considered to have stopped with the coming of the railroad.

The names of many of the settlers are kept alive in the names of creeks and canyons. Nearly all such place names seem to be a natural sequence rather than a deliberate naming. Bobby Burns lives beside a little branch of the Entiat until he checks out, but Burns Creek goes babbling on forever. Joe Moe lives in a certain canyon, and the world gives his name to it. A fine mountain rises from the confluence of the Wenatchee and Columbia Rivers. A family of Burches lived on or under it. The Burches have passed on but Burch Mountain remains, a monument to their living. I do not know how many such place names we

have here, but they must run into hundreds, undoubtedly the most prolific source of place names we have in the area.

Miners and Prospectors. These words may seem synonymous when it comes to place naming. Actually they are not. I think no prospector who did nothing but prospect ever got his name on a map, but if when prospecting he found something that looked good to him and settled down to develop it, ran some tunnel, maybe not over a hundred feet, maybe two hundred, then he became a miner even though his mine never proved of value. It is from such men that we get some place names, their own perhaps if bestowed by fellows like you and me, some charming or happy ones if the result of their own caprice or whimsy. Some we have in the latter class are Sprite Lake, Paddy-go-easy Pass, Cathedral Rock, Massie Lake. Leland Creek, Van Epps Creek, Lynch Glacier, Koppen Mountain are the names of old timers whom I elected to honor.

Sheepmen. This includes owners, herders and packers or camp-tenders. The east slopes of the Cascade Range in both Washington and Oregon have been used by sheepmen for summer pasturage for their flocks for forty to fifty years. When much of this area was included in the national forests some 35 to 45 years ago the Forest Service took over the supervision of the range and issued permits for a specified number of sheep to approved applicants on definitely described allotments.

This led to a rather close relationship between sheepmen and forest officers. The details are interesting but not particularly pertinent to the present discussion. Allotments were named and definitely described, which made necessary names for such landmarks as streams, ridges and mountains. Even before this sheepmen had themselves given names to certain salient features, like Duncan Hill, for instance. Duncan was an early owner who used the range on Duncan Hill. We owe the herders for such names as Medicine Ridge, Mosquito Ridge, Garland Peak. I got more names, however, for my own lists by appropriating surnames and given names of owners and herders. Billy Creek and Billy Ridge were for Billy Knox, from him too Knox Lake; Malcolm Mountain from an owner; Vicente Creek from a Spanish herder. One of the most fascinating names on the Forest is 'Butterfly Butte,' so named by French herders of owner Paul Lauzier.

Railroads. The Great Northern Railway Company furnished such names as Drury, Winton, Dardanelles, Merritt, Gaynor, and Berne for their stations. The Drury station is now abandoned, but the name lives in the beautiful Drury Falls in Fall Creek, which joins the Wenatchee River opposite the site of the discontinued Drury. The Northern Pacific gave us Upham and Martin, the Milwaukee, Hyak. They took Hyak, however, from my Hyak Creek and Lake, a Chinook name.

Names of my own choosing followed no definite plan but were often the result of some incident of the trail, fancied resemblances, happy or unhappy whimsies, and what you will. An assistant lost a new camera on a mountain. I called it Kodak Peak. The top of another mountain had a fancied resemblance to an Indian head-dress, and became Indian Head. Two peaks stand close together on the south side of one of our Indian creek canyons. I named them David and Jonathan. David now has a trail to its top and a fire lookout on its head. A gloomy peak stands across the canyon from them, glowering I fancied, and that became Mount Saul.

My friend Emile Matthes, who mapped the Colorado Grand Canyon, brought down on his head the wrath of Amerophiles by using Hindu temple names for its temples. I avoided such displeasure by creating an American Poet group on the range north of the Little Wenatchee River. Irving, Poe, Longfellow, Bryant and Whittier stand guard over the realm of the panther and the ibex. A big mountain stands across the Little Wenatchee from the poets' corner. I had wanted a name for it, but the old bean hadn't clicked. Then one day I was studying it on the topographic map. There are two lakes nearly at its top and some steep cliffs. The contour lines crowded so close together that even with a glass it was almost impossible to decipher them. A perfect maze, I thought. Then the name I wanted came, Labyrinth Mountain, and the lakes were Theseus and Minotaur.

Another name that I felt was a happy one came on a trip I made on foot, the only way, into the head of Snow Creek in the Mount Stuart Range. There are two fine lakes, large for high mountain lakes, near the head of Snow Creek, called Snow Lakes. I camped between them overnight and the next morning went on up the creek to see what I could see. There I found five or six most beautiful small lakes grouped in a wonderful little glacial valley all ringed with alpine larch. From the highest up over an entrancing fall tumbled the water it received from a small glacier. It was an enchanting scene. I named the group Enchantment Lakes. I must presume they had been seen before by some goat-hunter or seeker of water for irrigation, but the topographer had overlooked them in mapping the Mount Stuart Quadrangle.

Before I stop talking about my own names I want to tell you of three more. One day on the Mount Adams Quadrangle an Indian came to me as I was working over the plane table. He showed me some roots he had been gathering and gave me a piece to chew. It was like ginseng. He told me that as a young man he gathered quantities of these roots and took them to the Sioux country to trade for buffalo robes. The Indians were greater travelers and traders than we ordinarily give them

credit for. He told me his name was Cloudy Camiacca. I didn't use that name at the time but remembered it, and later when mapping a part of the Yosemite National Park I applied it to a rather fine peak there. I thought I was playing quite a joke on Californians and at the same time giving Camiacca a final trip. I am sure he would have enjoyed the joke too.

On another day that same summer another Yakima Indian came to me on a plane-table station. I was set up on the rim of a deep crater-like canyon in the bottom of which was a lake some two to three miles long and a mile or so wide. I asked the Indian what its name was. It was something of a mystery lake. I had not heard of it, nor was it shown on any old maps of the regions. He waved his arm as though including the whole region, said 'Walupt,' and told me this story. Once long long ago a great Yakima hunter chased a mighty deer with great spreading antlers for many days. He wasted some arrows but could never get close enough to make a kill. Finally the deer led him to this canyon and down to the lake, where he plunged in, swam around for a while, then disappeared. Ever since then some hunter whose chase leads him to this lake sees the great deer appear out of the water, his great antlers held high, and swimming around for a while disappear again into the depths. I named the lake Walupt, but the name evidently applies to the whole region about and tells the whole story to the initiated.

This is but another version of a very old legend which is applied by one tribe or another to lakes of the region. In some cases it is a great fish, or a giant beaver, and a sea serpent, which even the whites have been privileged to see in Lake Okanogan. The legend may be much wider spread, I do not know, but I like Walupt the best of all.

One day on the Mt. Aix Quadrangle I think I rather outdid the fellows who make period furniture from Grand Rapids originals. I made a perfectly good Indian out of two braw Scots. Toward the summit of the Cascades in the Carlton Pass area there stands a fine example of a volcanic cinder cone rising some 1500 feet above the general level of the terrain. I asked a shepherd its name. He said, 'Oh, it hasn't any real name,' then rather hesitantly, 'We call it the "Two Macs Mountain."' He then told of two Scotch shepherders, McDuff and McAdam, who used to race their bands to try and be first to get the pasturage on this mountain. I spelled two *Tu* and added the 'mac' to it for Tumac, which makes as fine a looking Indian name as I will ask you to find anywhere. My guess is that it takes humor as well as whimsy to name names.

THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN SLANG ON AUSTRALIA

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IT WAS NOT until war sent half a million American troops across the Pacific to Australia that Australians began to realise how little they knew about American slang. Like the English, who have shuddered and drawn in their skirts against the tide of Americanisms, the Australians have suffered a lingual melancholia that has left them uneasy about their future. Wrote the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1936: 'The American element in our slang is growing fast and outstripping the original Cockney element.' The *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, commented in the same year, 'Much of the slang called Australian is really imported from the United States.' Brian Penton, in his book *Think—Or Be Damned* (1941), wrote in similar vein: 'America gives us most of the slang we do not get from England.'

This feeling of inferiority is nothing new to Australians. Here is a comment by I. L. Bird in her *Australia Felix* (1877): 'There is a tendency [in Australia] to adopt words which are rather American than English in their use. Thus a coach is a *stage*; a pair of horses, a *span* or *team*; a light trap of any kind, a *buggy*; light impedimenta, *swag*; a waggon, a *dray*; a mounted policeman, a *trooper*.' Australians, being keen students of the printed word, have accepted statements like these. In terms of fact, however, the only American term in Bird's list is *span*.

Then there is a list of words which the *Sydney Telegraph* of July 14, 1936, palmed off on the public as Americanisms current in Australia: *beefy*, *biff*, *bluff*, *boss*, *break away*, *to chew the rag*, *to chip in*, *to fade away*, *to get it in the neck*, *to back and fill*, *to turn or be turned down*, *fake*, *creek*, *push* (a crowd), *hitched* (married), *tough* (luck), *for keeps*, *going strong*, *also ran*, *bookie*, *cove*, *dago*, *duds*, *groggy*, *king pin*, *mon-niker*, *pal*, *a peach*, *rattled*, *togs* and *yap*. The words in italics, however, are either originally English or originally Australian.

The fact of the matter is that erroneous tradition of this type has got the better of many Australians. They are admittedly keen admirers of U.S. slang, but they have been told so often by the misinformed that their own slang lacks originality and has been imported in bulk from America that they have lost confidence in themselves. This feeling has not been helped by opinion from abroad. For instance, numerous expressions, which Australians have regarded as their own, are included in the *Dictionary of American English*. As Australians as yet have no com-

parable reference dictionary, they are left to assure themselves, once again, that Americanisation has beaten them.

Here, however, are some instances in which earlier Australian records of words exist than those given in the *Dictionary of American English*:

	Australian Date	U.S. Date
<i>Australian</i> , adj. (pertaining to Australia)	1814	1856
<i>boomer</i> , n. (something notable, impressive)	1860	1887
<i>bullpuncher</i>	1872	1874
<i>brush</i> , n. (forest-covered country; bushland)	1799	1881
<i>buck</i> , v. (of a horse)	1848	1864
<i>buckjumper</i> (a horse that bucks)	1848	1878
<i>bush</i> (forest-covered land)	1803	1827
<i>bushranger</i>	1805	1830
<i>Chink</i> (a Chinese)	1879	1901
<i>coast about</i> (to wander, to walk about aimlessly)	1878	1889
<i>dray</i> (a wheeled waggon)	1833	1836
<i>jumper</i> (a man's blouse or smock-like shirt)	1852	1853

When American servicemen began to pour into Australia in 1942 the bulk of Australian public opinion favoured the view that the Antipodes was about to be overwhelmed by a tide of Americanisms. For several good reasons that event did not materialise. The first reason was that, although Australians are keenly willing to accept new terms from overseas, especially if they are colourful, vivid, and apt, there is a barrier of public inertia which allows no more than a filtering of new terms to be absorbed in a brief period. The second reason was that Australians already had a useful vocabulary of their own with which they were familiar; they were not likely to sacrifice it merely for the sake of adopting neologisms from abroad. A third reason was that Australians found their U.S. guests anxious to learn local idiom. 'There's one thing that tricks us; that's your slang,' said a U.S. soldier interviewed by the *Sydney Daily Mirror* on March 19, 1942. On March 25, 1942 the *Telegraph* wrote: 'The Americans are picking up Australian slang. With careful emphasis they use at every opportunity *dinky die* and *fair dinkum* [honest, genuine, good], and a couple of other terms less nice.' It is obvious that this process of absorption works both ways. The presence of Americans in Australia has certainly left an impression on our language, but there has also been a marked influence in the other direction, and of this America will learn in due course.

The Australian-American Co-operation Movement, Melbourne, considered some knowledge of Australian slang so useful to American servicemen that in a little booklet entitled *Welcome to Australia* (1942) they included a special section on 'The Way We Talk.' Here are a few of the

items included: *argue the toss*, to dispute; *bonzer*, *bosker*, good, excellent; *bot*, a persistent borrower; *cobber*, a friend; *cocky*, a small farmer; *dig*, *digger*, an Australian soldier; *dinkum oil*, the true facts; *Enzedder*, a New Zealander; *furphy*, a baseless rumour; *oscar*, money, ready cash; *sarvo*, this afternoon; *pozzie*, a place, position, job; *to shout*, to stand treat; *tucker*, food; *wowser*, a blue-stocking. The booklet added: 'Don't think Australians always mean what you mean when they use slang terms. An Australian may tell you a tough sergeant is a *fair cow*; it's also a fair cow when the *babbling brook* (cook) makes a *crook* (bad) stew. By *graft* he doesn't always mean bribery; he often means hard work.' The booklet also declared that Australians have been listening to Hollywood movies for so long 'they will understand almost all your slang,' which was a piece of conceited nonsense soon proved wrong. Australians who saw and heard the U.S. talkie 'Ball of Fire,' which was built around the subject of American slang, found the great bulk of it foreign and bewildering. Which is another point helping to prove that Australia is not a U.S. colony after all.

In *English Words and Their Background* (1923), G. H. McKnight points out some parallels and differences between American and Austral English: 'If variation in the names of things appears within a country, it is to be expected that in the widely separated parts of the English-speaking world the same phenomenon should appear. . . . American *candy* is called in English *sweets*, in Australian and Anglo-Indian *lollies* or *sweets*. American *sheep-ranch* is Australian *sheep-run*, English *sheep-walk*. American *up-country* and *farmer* are Australian *bush* and *bushman*. American *tramp* or *hobo* is Australian *sundowner*. American *alfalfa* is Australian *lucerne*. American *grub*, "something to eat," is Australian *tucker*.' McKnight also points out an important fact of World War No. 1, which should be remembered in relation to the present war: 'When the American soldier in France was brought into association with his Australian allies, he learned that Aussies' English often differed from his own. He learned *shickered* for drunk, *smoodging* for making love . . . and a number of synonyms for his own slang words, such as *bloke* for "guy," *skiting* for "four flushing," *nark* for "crab."'

The differences between our two slangs are many. For instance, as already pointed out, *graft* means hard work in Australia and a *grafter* is a hard worker. A *spieler* to Americans (we call him a *spruiker*) does the talking outside a sideshow to rally patronage; to Australians the *spieler* is a crook or gambler. *Leary* means suspicious or inferior in the U.S.; we have changed the pronunciation to *lairy* and it means flashy, especially flashily dressed. A *goog* denotes a black eye in America; here

it denotes an egg. We say *full as a goog* where Americans would say *pie-eyed*, *plastered* or *tanked*. With Americans a *ringer* is a double; here he is an expert. With Americans a *ringtail* is a grouchy person; with Australians he is a coward. We converted the U.S. *roustabout* to *rouseabout* and made him a handy-man in any job. A *leatherneck* is a marine to you; with us he is a station handy-man. A *buddy* to you is a *cobber* to Australians; your *doughboy* is our *digger*; a person who has been *taken for a ride* in the U.S. is a *smear* in Australia; a *dame* to Americans is a *sort* or *sheila* to us; a *blue-stocking* is a *wowser*; a *wow* or *hummer* is a *bonzer* or *whopcacker*; *honest injun* to you is our *dinkum*.

In Sydney *Truth* of May 31, 1942, columnist Jim Donald expressed disapproval that a U.S. slang expert, hired by Hollywood, had used more than 100 words to inform his public that, while selling 'speculator' seats outside a stadium, he mistook two ordinary citizens for plainclothes policemen. Says Donald: 'An Australian slangster could give him 50 words and a beating: "I'm dropping *briefs* at the *yike* and someone *drums* me there's two *Jacks* on me *hammer*. I palm the *briefs* and *front* 'em and I'm a quick *jerry* they ain't *john hops*. When I *tail* 'em and *cockatoo* 'em buyin' their *ducats* for the *yike*, I know I'm *sweet*—Jacks never pay for nothin'."

Another example showing the relative economy of Australian slang over the U.S. product (and thereby stressing an important reason why Australians do not use more U.S. slang) was given by Norman Campbell in *Life Digest* of August, 1938, who quoted the following:

Australian: A bonzer sheila and a dinkum bloke got stoushed by a push before the Johns mooched along. It was a fair cow.

American: A knock-out sketch of a hot baby and an ace-high sport got beat up by some tough eggs before the cops woke up. It was a dirty meal.

Literal Translation: A fine girl and a nice boy were attacked by ruffians and severely beaten before the police arrived on the scene. The assault was an outrage.

Here is a representative group of Americanisms which have wide currency in Australia: *scram*, *boloney*, *nerts*, *to gyp*, *blind tiger*, *poppycock*, *jane*, *lowdown*, *lay off*, *okay*, *pushover*, *says you*, *snappy piece of work*, *so's your old man*, *attaboy*, *cinch*, *crack down on*, *slick*, *to bellyache*, *corny*, *crackerjack*, *oh yeah*, *scanties*, *you ain't seen nothin' yet*, *eyewash*, *bleachers*, *to sell a pup*, *claypan*, *to ballyhoo*, and *how*, *suicide blond*. It is doubtful, however, whether more than 500 Americanisms of this type are in Australian use. As the Australian slang vocabulary is well over 6000 terms the U.S. section by no means dominates the field.

EVOLUTION OF THE 'WASHOE ZEPHYR'

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THE ORIGIN of most frontier tall stories is lost in obscurity, but the biography of one theme, the 'Washoe zephyr,' can be traced almost from the first. A little more than ten years of joking lifted the zephyr from obscurity in local barroom talk into world fame in a book by Mark Twain. The wind blew itself into literary proportions.

As history happened, in 1859 and 1860 journalists stampeded along with miners and promoters in the rush from California over the Sierra passes to Washoe.¹ There they helped build Virginia City on the eastern slopes of Mount Davidson, Gold Hill and Silver City in nearby Gold Canyon, and other mining towns elsewhere in the sagebrush desert. In these towns they promptly started newspapers or sent correspondence to established papers outside the territory. Eager for copy, these writers both recorded native humor and fabricated it. Among the most popular topics they wrote up was the sudden violent desert wind, 'one of the peculiar institutions of Washoe.' Like the prevailing winds of the country, said Dan De Quille,² it comes from the west.

It is probably a straight-ahead gale before it strikes Mount Davidson, but upon that towering mass of granite it splits. Currents pass round the north and south sides of the mountain, meet in the city, and waltz about in the shape of whirlwinds of from eighty to two hundred horse-power. To complicate things still more, a third portion comes howling directly over the peak of the mountain, and plunges down into the town among the whirlwinds, knocking them right and left whenever it encounters them.³

In 1860 the literary traveler, J. Ross Browne, who was always authentic in spirit if not in fact, noted 'a perfect hurricane which swept through the cañon from Gold Hill, sometimes in gusts so sudden and violent that it was utterly impossible to make an inch of headway.' He saw tents shivered and torn to shreds, cabins with brush tops unroofed, frame shanties rent asunder and the boards flying about like feathers. He reported 'one party sitting at breakfast with nothing but the four posts which had originally sustained their tent.' He saw, he claimed, two tents torn up bodily and carried to the top of Mount Davidson, and

1. The early popular name for western Nevada, especially for the towns on the Comstock Lode.

2. Dan De Quille was the pseudonym of William Wright, silver miner in Silver City, 1860-1862, local reporter on the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, 1862-1893.

3. William Wright, *History of the Big Bonanza* (Hartford and San Francisco, 1876), p. 253.

once a half dozen tents were 'traveling down hill, at the rate of forty miles an hour, toward the Flowery Diggings.'⁴

In January, 1861, Dan De Quille recorded an incident in Silver City:

The owner of [a] house had just stepped out of a saloon, and finding the wind strong, said—(addressing the Almighty) 'O, blow you old—,' (using most blasphemous language) 'you can't hurt nothing!' The words were hardly out of his mouth before his house, a large adobe building, lay a pile of ruins, while not another house, or even tent, in the town was damaged in the least. Verdict of the citizens, 'Served him right.'⁵

The following month the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* wrote up a 'high wind' that 'caused some considerable damage. The house known as Fort O'Reily, during the Indian war, had the roof all blown off. Welch's brick house, situated near the Central mill, was completely destroyed.'⁶ In April Dan De Quille sent to his home-town Iowa paper a long account of a nighttime windstorm that showered down gravel stones the size of pigeon eggs from Grizzly Hill to the roof of his prospector's cabin. The wind 'would come rushing down the chimney and send great live coals bounding under the bed into the "grub" department and fill my hair with ashes and my eyes with smoke.' Next day he and a Colonel Taylor of Silver City made headway against a sudden gale only by 'leaning almost flat to the ground.' Even at that, 'with a sort of snap the wind would take us in the rear and land us on all fours. Then the air was full of stones and sticks and dirt which persisted in getting into our eyes, mouths, and even ears.'⁷ In November of the same year the *Carson Silver Age* reported that 'a severe gale' in Carson City knocked flat several houses, the Catholic church, and Bolles's carpenter shop, felled the Liberty pole in the plaza, and blew roofs from the stone school house and Smith's livery stable, part of the stable roof lodging on the roof of Taylor's furniture shop and breaking it in.⁸ The *Territorial Enterprise* for October 1, 1862, told of a wind that picked up two lodging houses and a drug store and set them down with a jolt ten or twelve feet away.⁹

Though its feats were increasing in magnitude, the zephyr was still credible, but two years later the *Virginia City Daily Union* reflected a growing local tradition when it claimed that a zephyr at ten o'clock one night had taken up a Reese River Fast Freight Line wagon weighing

4. J. Ross Browne, 'A Peep at Washoe,' *Harper's Monthly*, Vol. 22 (1861), p. 290.

5. Special correspondence in *Cedar Falls (Iowa) Gazette*, February 8, 1861.

6. *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, February 16, 1861, quoted in *Nevada Democrat* (Nevada City, California), February 23, 1861.

7. *Cedar Falls Gazette*, April 12, 1861.

8. Quoted in *Nevada Democrat*, December 5, 1861, and *Sacramento (California) Union*, December 23, 1861.

9. Referred to in *Carson Silver Age* (Carson City, Nevada), October 2, 1862.

2000 pounds and carried it over housetops and on half a mile to Cedar Ravine. The item ended: 'If they've got any gentle zephyrs anywhere that can match ours when they get agoing, just let 'em fetch 'em along.'¹⁰ The same month the Gold Hill *News* announced that 'an iron skylight cover of the St. Louis Brewery on South C street, Virginia, was lifted by a gentle zephyr; borne over the roof of an adjacent building, across a vacant lot, to a saloon adjoining, which it landed upon, smashing the roof and falling to the ground. Weight of the sky-light, 450 pounds. Who can beat our gales?'¹¹

About the same time the *Territorial Enterprise* published an item on a terrific tornado. 'Among the strange events narrated therein was the blowing of a stage coach several hundred yards over the roofs of houses.' The *Reese River Reveille* (Austin, Nevada) alluded to this in an article captioned 'The Terrific Blow in Virginia': 'The coach referred to came to town yesterday, and upon close inspection we could not discover that it had been at all injured by the aerial trip. We are now convinced that all the "blowing" was done by our friend Dan De Quille, and that he must have been at least "three sheets in the wind," at the time of writing. Unlike Wilkins Micawber, Dan does not wait for events to furnish items, but draws on his prolific imagination.'¹² Two years later the *Territorial Enterprise* carried more of the kind of weather news that the *Reveille* suspected:

We heard of cooking stoves and crowbars flying through the air, but saw none, though we did see two joints of stove-pipe making fair time down C street. The air was constantly filled with hats, and at the corner of Union and B streets we saw a coat lodged against a lamp-post. A person of whom we made inquiry informed us that the man who belonged to the coat was going over the International Hotel when last seen. We did not dispute his assertion.¹³

Seven months later the locals writer of the Gold Hill *News* was in a tall frame building that so reeled and rocked that he feared all would be blown away. The streets 'running north and south were almost impassable, so thick was the dust, gravel, sticks, paper, boxes, etc., flying through the air as though hurled by some giant hand.'¹⁴ By February 20, 1867, the wind was a real menace to life. Said the *Enterprise* of that day's wind:

The devil was in the wind yesterday, and he lashed things about after his usual lively style. Tin cans, boxes and other loose traps were sent bounding along the streets, hats,

10. Virginia City *Daily Union*, November 27, 1864.

11. Quoted in *Reese River Reveille* (Austin, Nevada), November 28, 1864.

12. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1864.

13. Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, April 26, 1866.

14. Gold Hill (Nevada) *News*, November 20, 1866.

rags and scraps of paper, hair and waterfalls sailed through the air, and crinoline was roughly handled. The suction through the cross streets was fearfully strong. We saw a full-grown woman shot through Union street as though she was traveling by pneumatic railway and landed against a hitching post of C street, where she remained at anchor for some minutes. . . . Small dogs were obliged to hold to the bootstraps of their master to prevent being blown away; Chinamen kept a tight grip on the tails of their donkeys, and old maids kept their mouths tight for fear of losing their false teeth; crowbars and logchains—but the facts are sufficient, and we will submit the case.¹⁵

Some years later the *News* gave the plain facts of damage done to buildings by a February blast but went on to add that the wind 'rolled up big tin roofs and walked off with them as easily as a little boy would with a napkin' and 'upset the Geiger Grade'—the steep stage road down to Reno. The item advised that 'ladies with uncomely underpinning should never venture out when the rapturous zephyr is trifling about the streets.'¹⁶

In the 1870's, when Mark Twain and Dan De Quille wrote their books on Washoe, the zephyr was the subject of a copious local lore. It challenged humorists to devise fresh figures of speech, especially hyperboles. According to Twain it was elaborately stratified. There were

hats, chickens, and parasols sailing in the remote heavens; blankets, tin signs, sagebrush, and shingles a shade lower; door-mats and buffalo robes lower still; shovels and coal scuttles on the next grade, glass doors, cats, and little children on the next; disrupted lumber yards, light buggies, and wheelbarrows on the next; and down only thirty or forty feet above ground . . . a scurrying storm of emigrating roofs and vacant lots.

People were 'skipping around their escaping hats, like chambermaids trying to head off a spider.'¹⁷ Dan De Quille added, among many other details, that during a severe storm hats often blew down the mountain and accumulated in Six-mile Canyon in drifts 'fully fifteen feet in depth.' He also wrote of a breeze in the spring of 1863 that carried a donkey eastward over the town at a height of five or six hundred feet above the houses, shrieking, with its neck stretched out. The donkey finally landed near Sugar-Loaf Mountain, five miles away. 'The oldest inhabitant sometimes tries to spoil this story by saying that what was seen was an old gander, the leader of a flock of wild geese, lost in the storm, and baffled in his attempt to make headway southward against the hurricane. It may be so, but most folks along the Comstock cling to the donkey and sneer at the gander.'¹⁸

15. *Enterprise*, February 21, 1867.

16. *News*, February 10, 1870.

17. Samuel L. Clemens, *Roughing It* (New York and London, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 146-147.

18. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-256.

THE SOUNDS OF VIRGINIA SPEECH¹

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THE PURPOSE of this article is to attempt a new survey of the sounds of Virginia speech, on the basis of a more extensive and uniform body of evidence than has hitherto been available. It is important, first of all, to study the geographical and historical influences which have made themselves felt in the speech of this state since the time of the first settlements.

Geographically, Virginia is divided into four parts: (1) Tidewater Virginia, which includes the Eastern Shore (separated from the rest of the state by Chesapeake Bay) and the Coastal Plains region up to the 'fall line'; (2) the Piedmont area, extending from the 'fall line' west to the slopes of the Blue Ridge, spreading out like an inverted funnel, two counties wide in the north and seven counties wide in the south, and embracing the largest part of the state; (3) the Valley and Ridge province, sometimes called the Appalachian Valley, made up of a very irregular series of prominent linear ridges and valleys, including the Shenandoah Valley; and (4) the Appalachian Plateaus, at the very southwestern corner of the state.² About a third of the counties in Virginia are wholly or partly west of the Blue Ridge; these counties differ physically, socially, and almost spiritually from the rest of the state.

The first settlers in Virginia came from the South and Southwest of England, making their homes around Chesapeake Bay and along the

1. The original manuscript of this article, containing many tables, was submitted to *American Speech* in July, 1942. Because of increased printing costs, it was decided to eliminate the tables and to present this material in briefer form in the text itself. I hope that the statistical data, presented in this way, will not be too formidable.

While my article was undergoing revision, an article appeared by Professor Edwin F. Shewmake entitled 'Distinctive Virginia Pronunciation' (*Am. Sp.*, Feb. 1943). In it he takes exception to some observations of mine in an earlier article on Virginia speech. Mr. Shewmake is chiefly concerned about two diphthongs, [au] and [ai], whose characteristic eastern Virginian form he hears as [ʌu] and [ʌi] before voiceless consonants. I have tried to answer him in footnotes under the treatment of the diphthongs in this article. Mr. Shewmake also points out the advantages in knowing general types of pronunciation that one who has lived many years in the state must have over investigators like the late Guy Lowman, who tested Virginia speech for the *Linguistic Atlas*, and like myself, who used the method of testing individual speakers from all sections of the state. I defer to Mr. Shewmake's long residence in Virginia (he is not, I believe, a native Virginian), but I still think that another non-Virginian may also be able to form fairly accurate judgments concerning Virginia pronunciation, even using my method!

2. A fuller description of the topography of Virginia is given by George D. McJimsey, *American Speech*, 15: 5-8 (1940). McJimsey groups the Valley and Ridge province and the Appalachian Plateaus together as 'the Appalachian Mountains Province.'

great rivers, the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the York, and the James, which empty into the bay. Some of the immigrants were gentlemen, adherents of the established church and strongly royalist. Many more of the Cavaliers came during Cromwell's period of power. A few Germans, Swiss, and Dutch were among the early arrivals, and more came on every boat. During the seventeenth century large groups of French Huguenots made their homes in eastern and central Virginia. The German settlers increased in number during the eighteenth century, especially between 1690 and 1716, when the Protestants were being persecuted in Germany. Most of the Germans moved westward, many of them going into the Shenandoah Valley. Beginning about 1732 there was a considerable invasion from the North through Pennsylvania, led by the Scots and followed by the Pennsylvania Germans and some Irish. The Presbyterian Scotch-Irish spread out beyond the Shenandoah Valley into the highland regions and moved on into Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama. These were the principal additions to Virginia's ethnological groups.

In the early period about 95% of the new colonists were English, many of whom moved into the section known as the 'Northern Neck,' between the Potomac and the Rappahannock. But the rapidly increasing numbers of French, Dutch, German, Scotch, Irish, and Negroes changed the ratio. By 1730 almost a third of the population of the state was Negro. Today the Negroes form little more than a quarter of the total. By 1860 it was estimated that the Germans made up 25% of the white population of Virginia, and the German influence on the religion, customs, and language of the state has been very great. In the Shenandoah Valley the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' groups are still fairly unassimilated, keeping many of their old customs of dress and speech.³

Virginia is, then, not as homogeneous a state as some descendants of the Cavaliers like to think. The diversity of racial groups, and the physical barriers within the state, have exercised as strong an effect on Virginia speech as on Virginia culture. For example, in some sections certain racial groups are predominant. Bean estimates that over 63% of Mecklenburg County is of English stock, 57% of Augusta County of Scotch, and 71% of Shenandoah County of German descent. Several sections have been kept more or less separated from each other: the Eastern Shore counties are kept from the mainland by Chesapeake Bay; the long spine of the Blue Ridge and the various ridges west of the Alleghanies have tended to isolate many counties. Coastal influence is apparent in the speech of

3. For the history of the settlement of Virginia, see R. Bennett Bean, *The Peopling of Virginia* (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1938).

the Eastern Shore, which in some ways is more like the speech of coastal Maine or South Carolina than like that of the rest of Virginia. In the Shenandoah Valley, Pennsylvania German phrases and whole communities of German speakers are to be found. In some parts of the Blue Ridge there are communities which, like those of the Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina highlanders, still keep some English idioms and pronunciations from the eighteenth century, such as *'scape gallows* [skeɪp 'gæləs], *dauncey* ['dɒnsɪ], *sallet* [sælət] for 'salad,' and *poke* [pouk] for 'sack.'

To obtain the data presented below, 254 girls from average middle-class families in all sections of Virginia were asked to read a rather long test-passage containing 195 words which might throw light on the characteristic pronunciations of the various parts of the state. Some of the words were used twice to give a double check on fine variations; for example, *house* and *aunt* (alone and before a name). The subjects for this test do not provide an entirely satisfactory basis for speculation about Virginia speech, since they were all from the same social level, all were women, and all were college students. Aristocratic pronunciations, such as [k'ɑ:] *car* and [k'ɑ:tə] *Carter*, and other old-family, predominantly upper-class, speech characteristics were practically nonexistent in my group, as was the extremely provincial speech of the mountain people and the settled, rural residents of the German districts, who don't much believe in sending their daughters to college. On the other hand, there was an undoubted advantage in getting representatives of all the counties, all native Virginians, conveniently located where the test could be given at leisure. The proportions of subjects from the main divisions of the state are as follows: 74 from Tidewater Virginia (including 6 from the Eastern Shore, 9 from the Northern Neck, which is more or less isolated from the nearby counties, and 59 from the Coastal Plains); 94 from the central or Piedmont area; 76 from the Valley and Ridge province; and 10 from the Appalachian Plateaus. In giving the comparative frequency of forms in these four sections of the state, I use the abbreviations 'T' (Tidewater), 'P' (Piedmont), 'V' (Valley and Ridge), and 'A' (Appalachian Plateaus). The comparative frequencies of sounds are indicated in terms of percentages, not numbers of speakers, unless the latter is indicated. This procedure may be confusing in the case of the Appalachian Plateau listings, since this section has only ten representatives (about the right proportion to the other sections). Perhaps three divisions would have been enough, grouping the Appalachian Plateau subjects under the Valley and Ridge data. The four divisions, however, are followed by most geographers. In a future study I hope to analyze the Eastern Shore and Northern Neck speakers separately from the other Tidewater speakers.

FRONT VOWELS

The raising and tensing of [ɪ] in words like *fish* and *dish*, thought by many eastern Virginians to be a common Valley or West Virginia usage, is actually rather rare. The form [dɪʃ] appeared once in P, not at all in T, and twice in V. [dəlɪfəs] was heard only once, in P. [fɪʃ] was heard twice in P, once in V (where [fɪɹʃ] was also heard once). In *dish* and *delicious*, on the other hand, there was some tendency for the [ɪ] to be relaxed and lowered to [ɛ]. *Delicious* became [dələfəs] 4 times in T, 8 times in P, 5 times in V, 3 times in A. For *dishes*, [dɛʃəz] appeared twice in T and once in V. *Wish* was [wɪʃ] only twice, but [wɪɹʃ] appeared 5 times in T, 7 times in P, and 9 times in V. The word *really* had an interesting distribution between [i] (sometimes [iə]) and [ɪ]: [rɪli] T 32%, P 31%, V 49%, and A 50%; [rɪli] T 60%; P 62%, V 49%, and A 50%.⁴ *Negro* commonly becomes ['nɪɡro] or ['nɪɡrə]. The percentages for this word are: ['nɪɡro] T 20%, P 24%, V 20%, A 10%; [nɪɡrə] T 6%, P 15%, V 13%, A 20%; ['nɪɡro] T 46%, P 39%, V 49%, A 50%; [nɪɡrə] T 16%, P 18%, V 16%, A 20%; [nɪɡə], [nɪɡə] T 3%, P 2%, V 1%. In *eagerly*, the distribution of [i] and [ɪ] is: ['ɪɡəlɪ], ['ɪɡəlɪ] T 43%, P 49%, V 62%, A 50%; ['ɪɡəlɪ], ['ɪɡəlɪ] T 57%, P 50%, V 38%, A 50%.

The lowering of [ɪ] to [ɛ] is fairly common throughout the state in words like *since*, *been*, *milk*, *spirit*, *think*, *thing*, *vanilla*, and in *dish* and *delicious*, discussed in the preceding paragraph. The percentages are: [vənɛlə] T 31%, P 34%, V 49%, A 40%; [sɛns] T 39%, P 39%, V 50%, A 60%; [bɛn] (not recorded for all subjects) T 22%, P 21%, V 20%, A 40% ([bɪn] was heard once in T); [mɛlk] T 2%, P 6%, V 13%, A 30%; ['spɛrɪt] T 4%, V 4%. The word *rinse* appears in no less than six pronunciations. Most common, of course, is [rɪns]. The others are: [rɪnz] T 8%, P 6%, V 15%, A 10%; [rɛns] T 23%, P 21%, V 12%, A 10%; [rɛnz] T 1%, P 4%, V 1%; [rɪntʃ] T 4%, P 4%, V 7%, A 20%; [rɛntʃ] T 2%, P 2%, V 5% (also heard, [rɪndʒ]).

The raising of [ɛ] to [ɪ] is very common in words like *many*, *friends*, *lieutenant*, *sends*, *length*, and *strength*: ['mɪni] T 16%, P 18%, V 25%, A 50%; [frɪndz] T 6%, P 16%, V 14%, A 30%; [lu'tɪnənt] T 26%, P 31%, V 45%, A 40%; [lɪnθ] or [lɪŋθ] T 20%, P 33%, V 14%; [strɪnθ] or [strɪŋθ] T 15%, P 27%, V 16%, A 20%; *then* [ðɪn] T 12%, P 22%, V 17%, A 50%; *tendency* ['tɪndənsɪ] T 4%, P 12%, V 22%, A 30%. But [tʃɪst] for *chest* was heard very infrequently, only 5 times in all (4 times

4. Discrepancies in the total percentages are due to occasional minor variations which are not recorded here, or to failure to record all the words of each subject, or to the fact that only round numbers are used. Where no percentage is given for any section, the form under discussion was not found in that section.

west of the Blue Ridge). The vowel [æ] was also heard in *many*, *friends*, *length*, and *strength*. The proper name *Shenandoah* is widely abused. In the Valley itself the standard pronunciation is ['ʃænə,douə]. Here is the full list: ['ʃenən,douə] T 42%, P 43%, V 29%, A 40%; ['ʃenə,douə] T 23%, P 17%, V 5%, A 10%; ['ʃmən,douə] T 1%, P 1%, A 10%; ['ʃænən,douə] T 12%, P 14%, V 17%, A 20%; ['ʃænə,douə] T 19%, P 21%, V 46%; ['ʃænə,douə] T 2%, P 1%, V 4%, A 20%.⁵

[eɪ] is sometimes lowered to [ɛ] in words like *naked*, *afraid*, *great*. In *naked*, [ɛ] is frequent throughout the state, but in *afraid* and *great* it appears chiefly east of the Blue Ridge: [nekəd] T 45%, P 49%, V 47%, A 50%; [əfrəd] T 28%, P 28%, V 2%; [grət] T 4%, P 7%, V 1%. The reverse tendency is apparent in *again* and *against*, where [ɛ] often becomes [eɪ]: [əgeɪn] T 27%, P 24%, V 12%; [əgeɪnst] T 32%, P 34%, V 11%. The name *Mary* is usually ['mɛrɪ], but ['mɛrɪ] also occurs: T 5%, P 6%, V 1%, A 10%. The form ['mɛrɪ] is surprisingly infrequent: P 3%, V 1%. *Egg* appeared as [eɪg], chiefly west of the Blue Ridge: T 1%, P 6%, V 34%, A 40%. *Plait* was regularly [plæt]; [pleɪt] appeared only twice in all sections.

The vowel [ɛ] is often centralized in *terrible* and *buried*, less frequently in *where*: ['tɜrɪbəl] T 16%, P 16%, V 3%, A 10%; ['tərɪbəl] T 5%, P 18%, V 11%, A 10%; ['bɜrɪd] T 24%, P 23%, V 16%, A 30%; ['bɛrɪd] T 13%, P 12%, V 8%, A 10%; [mɜ] T 1%, P 2%, V 16%. In *hair* the forms [hɛr] and [hɛə] were most often heard. Almost as common, however, were [hær] T 4%, P 6%, V 27%, A 60% and [hæə] T 36%, P 37%, V 7%.

The intermediate vowel [a] is comparatively rare in Virginia in words like *can't*, *dance*, etc., where General American would have [æ]. The percentages are: for *classes* [klasəz] T 4%, V 1%; for *can't* [kant] T 1%, P 2%; for *dance* [dans] T 12%, P 3%, V 1%, A 10%; for *laugh* [laf] only T 2%; for *grass* [gras] T 2%, P 1%; for *aunt* [ant] only T 1%; for *aunt* [ant] before a name, T 1%, P 1%, V 1%; for *rather* [ræðə], [ræðə], T 5%, P 5%, V 1%. Only in *aunt*, *rather*, and *can't* does [a] appear: [ant] T 85%, P 87%, V 63%, A 50%; [ant] before a name, T 80%, P 82%, V 57%, A 40%; [ræðə], [ræðə] T 16%, P 2%, V 3%; [kant] T 2%. For *can't*, [keɪnt] is frequent throughout the state: T 15%, P 28%, V 25%, A 40%. *Aunt* also became [ɔnt] T 2%, P 1%. And *dance* took such odd forms as [deɪəns], [dæns], [dɪəns], [dæɪns]. *Rather* sometimes became [ræðə].

MID VOWELS

Several front and back vowels are occasionally centralized, as in *terrible*

5. In his *History of Rockingham County* (1912), John W. Wayland quotes early records in which the name of the Shenandoah River is spelled 'Shanadore.'

and *buried* (noted above) and *put*. The word *further* frequently becomes [fʌðə], [fʌðə], even in speech areas where post-vocalic *r* is pronounced: T 2%, P 7%, V 21%, A 60%. *Hush* became [hʌʃ] in one record, [hʊʃ] in another. *Just* often has [ɛ], occasionally [ɪ]: [dʒɛst] T 20%, P 26%, V 16%, A 40%; [dʒɪst] T 1%, V 3%.

BACK VOWELS

The distributions of [ɑ] and [ɔ] in words of the *forest, moral* class is interesting. Since this group is significant for drawing dialect lines, I shall record it more in detail, dividing the Tidewater area into Eastern Shore, Northern Neck, and Coastal Plain: *forest* [færəst] ES 50%, NN 89%, CP 73%, P 76%, V 45%, A 40%; [fɔrəst] ES 16%, NN 11%, CP 3%, P 3%, V 3%; [fɒrəst] ES 33%, CP 14%, P 19%, V 45%, A 60%; *orange* ['arɪndʒ] ES 33%, NN 67%, CP 76%, P 80%, V 43%, A 50%; ['ɒrɪndʒ] NN 11%, CP 2%, P 3%, V 5%; ['ɔrɪndʒ] ES 66%, NN 11%, CP 12%, P 16%, V 43%, A 50%; *horrid* ['harɪd] ES 33%, NN 67%, CP 79%, P 81%, V 55%, A 50%; ['hɒrɪd] ES 16%, NN 11%, CP 5%, P 3%, V 4%; ['hərɪd] ES 33%, NN 11%, CP 15%, P 15%, V 41%, A 50%; *moral* [mərəl] ES 50%, NN 67%, CP 74%, P 67%, V 29%, A 10%; [mɒrəl] NN 11%, CP 5%, P 4%, V 4%; [mɔrəl] ES 33%, NN 11%, CP 20%, P 28%, V 67%, A 90%. The [ɑ] sound in these words is obviously dominant in the eastern and Piedmont sections, while [ɑ] and [ɔ] stand about equal in the western parts, except in the word *moral*, where [ɔ] is prevalent. In *chocolate* [ɑ] is almost universal, the word being pronounced ['tʃaklɪt]. Only twice in all the tests did [tʃəkələt] appear, and [tʃɔkələt] only once. For [tʃɔklət] the percentages were T 2%, P 3%, V 5%, A 10%. In *got, rock, hot, college, box, modern*, [ɑ] was heard regularly; [gɒt] and [gɔt] appeared only once each, [hɒt] once, ['kɒlɪdʒ] once, [rɒk] twice, [bɒks] once, [mɒdɜn] three times, [nɒt] twice. In *God* and *mock* there were some variations: [gɑd] T 68%, P 52%, V 95%, A 100%; [gɒd] T 13%, P 25%, V 4%; [gɔd] T 19%, P 21%, V 1%; [mɑk] T 84%, P 73%, V 61%, A 70%; [mɒk] T 5%, P 12%, V 4%, A 10%; [mɔk] T 10%, P 13%, V 35%, A 20%; in *sorry, body, rod, garden*, [ɑ] was regular in all sections, but ['sɒrɪ] and ['sɔrɪ], ['bɒdɪ] and ['bɔdɪ], [rɒd] and [rɔd], [gɔrdn] and [gɒrdn] were heard fairly frequently, [rɒd], for example, occurring in 9% of T and 17% of P and [rɔd] in 10% of P. In *closet*, [ɑ] was regular east of the Blue Ridge, but [ɔ] was most frequent in the west. For *fog*, in which [ɔ] was most frequent, the figures are: [fɑg] T 22%, P 19%, V 7%, A 20%; [fɒg] T 8%, P 11%, V 9%, A 10%; [fɔg] T 66%, P 67%, V 81%, A 70%. In *coffee, thought, ought, and awful*, [ɔ] was dominant in all sections, ['kɑfɪ] appearing only three times and ['kɒfɪ] once, [θɑt] only once, [ɑt]

twice, [aɪ] twice. In *laundry*, while [ɔ] was in the majority in the east, [a] won out in the west: ['lɑndrɪ] T 40%, P 45%, V 54%, A 100%; ['lɒndrɪ] T 60%, P 55%, V 46%. *Water* was usually heard with [ɔ], though in the western part of the state [a] appeared frequently: [ɔ] T 97%, P 92%, V 66%, A 50%; [a] T 2%, P 6%, V 34%, A 50%. The [t] was almost universally voiced in this word. *Washington*, however, usually had [a], though [ɔ] appeared more frequently in the western section: [a] T 92%, P 87%, V 60%, A 20%; [ɔ] T 8%, P 8%, V 32%, A 40%. The figures for ['wɑrʃɪŋtən], with intrusive [r], are: P 1%, V 5%, A 20%. The preposition *on* is normally pronounced [ɒn] in Virginia; *upon*, however, usually becomes [əpʌn]: [əpʌn] T 92%, P 97%, V 83%, A 50%; [əpən] T 8%, P 1%, V 12%, A 50%; [əpɒn] P 1%, V 5%. *Dormitory* frequently had [a], and many speakers, including those with the postvocalic [r], lost the first [r] in this word: ['dɔrmɪ,tɔrɪ] T 21%, P 34%, V 61%, A 50%; ['dɔmrɪ] T 42%, P 27%, V 16%; ['damɪ] T 34%, P 38%, V 22%, A 50%. *Wander*, tested in close association with *wonder* (which always had [ʌ]), became [wʌndə], [wʌndə] in many cases, especially in the west: T 9%, P 11%, V 26%, A 40%.

In words like *door*, *floor*, *pork*, etc., the vowel is more often [ou] than [ɔ] in the speech of those who drop postvocalic [r], but in the western part of the state [ɔ] prevails. The percentages for the three words cited are: *door* [dɔr] T 26%, P 27%, V 80%, A 90%; [dɔə] T 8%, P 6%; [dour] T 2%, P 4%, V 13%, A 10%; [doə] T 57%, P 60%, V 5% ([dou:] and [dɔɪə] were also heard); *floor* [flɔr] T 17%, P 23%, V 80%, A 100%; [flɒə] T 22%, P 17%, V 1%; [flour] T 2%, V 11%; [floə] T 55%, P 53%, V 7%; [flou] T 3%, P 2%, V 1%; *pork* [pɔrk] T 24%, P 24%, V 80%, A 80%; [pɔk] T 35%, P 28%, V 1%, A 20%; [pourk] P 6%, V 12%; [pouk] T 36%, P 40%, V 7%.

The word *your* more often has [ɔ] than [u]; *poor* tends toward [u], except in the Tidewater area: *your* [jʊr], [juə] T 16%, P 28%, V 42%, A 50%; [jɔr], [jɔə] T 78%, P 71%, V 58%, A 40%; *poor* [pʊr], [puə] T 36%, P 54%, V 62%, A 70%; [pɔr], [pɔə] T 63%, P 44%, V 38%, A 30%.

In *took* and *put* [ʌ] is heard occasionally in all sections, though I heard [tʌk] only once and [pʌt] only four times in my tests. The unstressed final [u] in words like *statue* often becomes [ə]: ['stætʃu] T 29%, P 40%, V 55%, A 60%; [stætʃə] T 59%, P 45%, V 26%, A 10%. *Wish* became [wʊʃ] rather frequently, T 10%, P 11%, V 7%, A 30%, and occasionally [wu-ʃ], T 3%, P 1%, V 3%.

In *bush* and *push* [u] or [uɪ] is often substituted for [ʊ]: [puʃ] T 4%, P 14%, V 9%, A 10%; [puɪʃ] T 1%, P 3%, V 10%, A 10%; [buʃ] T 8%, P 14%, V 9%, A 10%; [buɪʃ] T 1%, P 6%, V 5%, A 10%.

In *roof*, [u] is dominant in all sections except the Valley and Ridge, where the percentages for [u] and [ʊ] are about equal: [ruf] T 73%, P 84%, V 49%, A 60%; [ruʃ] T 26%, P 15%, V 51%, A 40%. In *room*, [u] is dominant in all sections, but [ʊ] is heard proportionately more often in the east: [rum] T 60%, P 60%, V 74%, A 80%; [rʊm] T 38%, P 39%, V 26%, A 20%. In *coop* the distribution is less regular: [kup] T 58%, P 49%, V 59%, A 40%; [kʊp] T 42%, P 49%, V 41%, A 60%.

Tune, tube, and similar words are regularly [tjun], [tjub], etc.; but *student* varies: [stjudnt] T 46%, P 60%, V 55%, A 80%; [studənt] T 54%, P 39%, V 43%, A 20%.

The large number of times that *suite* appeared as [sut] make its inclusion under the back vowels appropriate: [swit] T 78%, P 78%, V 79%, A 50%; [sut] T 22%, P 21%, V 21%, A 50%.

The word *route* is about equally divided between [rut] and some variation of the diphthong [au]: [rut] T 62%, P 50%, V 45%, A 40%; [ræut] T 20%, P 33%, V 45%, A 50%; [raut] P 4%, V 2%; [rɜut] T 1%, P 4%, V 1%; [raut] T 13%, P 6%, V 9%.

DIPHTHONGS

The diphthong [au] is very unstable in Virginia speech. Lowman has recorded twelve different variants. In my article on Virginia speech in *American Speech*, April, 1941, I pointed out that standard [au] usually becomes [æu] before a voiced consonant in all parts of the state. Before a voiceless consonant the diphthong has many variations, ranging from [ɜu]⁶ and even [u] in the eastern section to normal [æu] in the western section. The following words provide convenient measures: *house* [haus] T 7%, P 13%, V 4%; [hæus] T 19%, P 20%, V 67%, A 80%; [həus] T 16%, P 22%, V 16%, A 20%; [hɜus] T 39%, P 33%, V 7%; [heus] T 7%, P 2%, V 3%; *houses* [hauzəz], [-ɪz] T 4%, P 7%, V 7%; [hæuzəz] T 66%, P 79%, V 87%, A 80%; [hauzəz] T 12%, P 12%, V 4%, A 20%; [hɜuzəz] T 5%, V 1%; [heuzəz] T 3%; *about* [əbaut] T 7%, P 10%, V 5%; [əbæut] T 22%, P 26%, V 59%, A 80%; [əbaut] T 20%, P 27%, V 14%, A 20%; [əbɜut] T 46%, P 35%, V 7%; *mountain* [mauntɪn] T 4%, P 4%, V 5%; [mæuntɪn] T 77%, P 81%, V 81%, A 90%; [mauntɪn] T 15%, P 12%, V 14%, A 10%; *down* [daun] T 3%, P 6%, V 1%; [dæun] T 74%, P 76%, V 78%, A 80%; [daun] T 16%, P 14%, V 20%, A 20%; [dɜun] T 4%, P 4%, V 1%. The word *our* had peculiar variations: [aʊr], [aʊə] T 2%, P 5%, V 6%; [æʊr], [æʊə] T 49%, P 45%, V 43%, A 10%; [æə] T 7%, P 9%, V 4%, A 10%; [ar] T 5%, P 10%, V 24%, A 50%; [aur], [aʊə],

6. Shewmake, *loc. cit.*, insists that this sound should be transcribed as [aʊ]. I still feel, however, that [ɜu] is nearer the true sound.

T 12%, P 15%, V 13%, A 10%; [au] T 5%, V 1%. Among the variations in these words were [həʊs], [hæəs], [hars], [hɛʊs], [haʊs], [hous], [hæʊs], [hus], [hɛʊzɪz], [ˈhaʊzɪz], [ˈhæzɪz]; [əbeʊt], [əbʊt], [əˈbəʊt], [əbʊt], [əbəʊt]; [mɜʊntɪ], [ˈmæntɪ], [mæntɪ], [mɛʊntɪ].

The diphthong [aɪ] before a voiced consonant is very likely to lose the [ɪ] glide or to become [aə]. Before a voiceless consonant it is close to standard [aɪ].⁷ In the western part of the state [aɪ] is conspicuously [a] or even [ʌ] in most words. Examples are: *guided* [gaidəd] T 23%, P 21%, V 18%; [gadəd] T 59%, P 68%, V 74%, A 90%; [gædəd] T 16%, P 9%, V 8%, A 10%; *fire* [faɪ] T 36%, P 30%, V 17%; [far] T 12%, P 26%, V 43%, A 50%; [faɪ] T 48%, P 32%, V 30%, A 40%; [far] T 2%, P 7%, V 9%, A 10%; *tired* [taɪd] T 35%, P 25%, V 14%; [tard] T 48%, P 54%, V 59%, A 50%; [taɪd] T 12%, P 18%, V 13%, A 10%; [tard] T 1%, P 2%, V 13%, A 40%; *I've* [aɪv] T 33%, P 24%, V 18%; [av] T 51%, P 57%, V 65%, A 90%; [æv] T 13%, P 15%, V 17%, A 10%; *mind* [maɪnd] T 39%, P 28%, V 17%; [mand] T 56%, P 67%, V 76%, A 100%; [maənd] T 4%, P 3%, V 5%. In *light*, [laɪt] was regular except in three cases, two of [lat] and one of [laət], all in the western section. In *right*, [raɪt], [ra:t] was heard only in the west. The word *idea* sometimes becomes [ɪˈdiə] and is more often pronounced [ˈɑɪdiə] than [aɪˈdiə].

The second element of [ɔɪ], as of [aɪ], is frequently lost or changed to [ə]. For many Virginians [aɪ] and [ɔɪ] are pure vowels. This distortion of the standard diphthongs is a main cause of the provincialism in much Virginia speech, especially in the western section. Examples for [ɔɪ] are: *boil* [bɔɪ] T 28%, P 28%, V 21%; [bɔl] T 29%, P 41%, V 46%, A 90%; [bɔəl] T 31%, P 21%, V 21%, A 10%; [boɪl] T 9%, P 6%, V 9%; *toilet* [tɔɪlət] T 51%, P 39%, V 46%, A 10%; [tɔlət] T 45%, P 50%, V 43%, A 70%; [tɔələt] T 4%, P 9%, V 4%, A 20%; [tɔrlət] V 8%; *boy* [bɔɪ] T 77%, P 77%, V 68%, A 80%; [boɪ] T 23%, P 19%, V 32%, A 20%; *soil* [sɔɪl] T 59%, P 53%, V 42%, A 30%; [sɔl] T 27%, P 28%, V 38%, A 60%; [sɔəl] T 12%, P 16%, V 16%, A 10%; [sɔrl] V 4%. Also heard were [boʊəl] and [bɔrl], [bɔɪ] and [bɔə], [sɔɪl] and [soʊl].

CONSONANTS

Alveolar Stops. Medial [t] becomes [d] very frequently in words like *water*, *duty*, *important*, *getting*. The [t] appeared in *water* only 7 times in all the tests, in *duty* only 6 times. In *important* the percentages for [d]

7. According to Shewmake, *loc. cit.*, [aɪ] is like [au] in the influence of the following voiceless consonant. He says (p. 35), 'Wide observation cannot fail, I think, to establish [aɪs], [aɪz], [raɪs], [raɪz], and [maɪt], [maɪl] as the typical Eastern Virginia pronunciations' [for *ice*, *eyes*, *rice*, *rise*, *white*, and *while*]. I do not agree with this observation.

are T 69%, P 62%, V 7%; in *getting* T 47%, P 53%, V 49%, A 70%; in *satin* T 7%, P 17%, V 4%. Final [d], on the other hand, often becomes [t]. Thirteen of my subjects had [t] as the final sound in *guided* (all but one from the eastern part of the state), and ten in *suggested*. *Naked* several times became [nekət], [neikət], and even [neikt]. In *crowded* the change was more regular; the percentages for final [t] in this word were T 24%, P 23%, V 20%; and in *hold* T 5%, P 18%, V 18%, A 30%. Medial [d] often becomes [t] in *didn't* and *wouldn't*: [dɪtɪt] T 19%, P 22%, V 13%, A 10%; [wʊtɪn(t)] T 15%, P 13%, V 11%. Medial [d] crept in and out of words like *lieutenant* and *tendency*, which became occasionally [lu'tɛndənt] or [lu'tɪndənt] and ['tɛnənsɪ].

Velar Stops. [k] occasionally becomes [g] in *significantly*, less often in *reckon*: [sɪg'nɪfɪɡntli] T 52%, P 47%, V 49%, A 80%; [sɪ'nɪfɪɡntli] T 9%, P 11%, V 16%, A 10% (also heard were [sɪg'nɪfɪkənli] and [sɪg'nɪfɪsəntli]); [rɛɡn] T 3%, P 6%, V 1%, A 10%. On the other hand, *spigot* is almost universally [spɪkət], T 86%, P 81%, V 74%, A 90%. For *suggested*, [sə'dʒɛstəd] was frequent, T 12%, P 23%, V 14%, A 20%.

Nasals. The words *singer* and *hanger* take on [g] with surprising frequency: [hæŋɡɜ] T 9%, P 11%, V 9%, A 10%; [sɪŋɡɜ] T 8%, P 12%, V 1%, A 20%. *English* usually loses the [g]: T 93%, P 91%, V 87%, A 90%. *Length* and *strength* frequently have [ŋ] instead of [ŋ]: [lɛnθ], [lɪnθ] T 3%, P 4%, V 21%, A 50%; [strɛnθ], [strɪnθ] T 5%, P 1%, V 22%, A 50%. Twenty-two speakers, equally divided, put [ŋ] at the end of *mountain*.

Liquids. There is a rather common tendency to omit [l] in *self* and *help*: [sɛf] T 12%, P 21%, V 9%, A 20%; [hɛp] T 3%, P 6%, V 8%. The division of postvocalic [r] is noteworthy: for students with [r] the percentages are ES 83%, CP 7%, P 21%, V 92%, A 100%; for those with no [r], ES 17%, NN 44%, CP 55%, P 40%, V 3%; for those with divided usage, NN 56%, CP 38%, P 37%, V 5%. The [r] is often dropped in *through*: [θu] T 4%, P 13%, V 7%, A 20%. Linking [r] is rare in the phrase *vanilla ice cream*: T 3%, P 2%.

Fricatives. In words like *blouse* and *greasy* the almost universal pronunciation is with [z]. The forms [blaʊs], [blæʊs] appeared only 7 times (5 times in V); ['ɡrɪsɪ] only 9 times (5 times in P). The [z] was unvoiced in *because* less often than might be expected, only 12 times altogether. *Mrs.* was usually [mɪsɪz], but ['mɪzɪz] and [mɪz] were common, and the curious form [mɪzrɪz] is sometimes heard: ['mɪzɪz] T 15%, P 14%, V 12%, A 10%; [mɪz] T 10%, P 10%, V 13%; [mɪzrɪz] T 1%, P 1%, V 1%, A 30%. *Vase* had more variation between [s] and [z]: [veɪs] T 60%, P 72%, V 83%, A 80%; [veɪz] T 39%, P 27%, V 17%, A 20%. *Absurd*

was usually [əbsɜd], but [z] also appeared in T 13%, P 6%, V 8%, A 20%. The [s] of *escape* became [ks] with surprising frequency: [əkskeɪp] T 17%, P 24%, V 25%, A 30%. The [ʃ] before [r] is almost impossible for many Virginians to make; it frequently becomes [s]: *shrink* [srɪŋk] T 29%, P 35%, V 40%, A 40%; *shrieked* [srikt] T 48%, P 50%, V 42%, A 50%; *shrine* [sraɪn] T 34%, P 31%, V 34%, A 10%. Words like *rouge*, *garage*, etc., more often have [dʒ] than [ʒ]: *rouge* [rudʒ] T 65%, P 68%, V 50%, A 80%. For some reason [dʒ] in *college* is frequently unvoiced: ['kəlɪtʃ] T 16%, P 23%, V 29%, A 10%.

Semivowels. Only twice did *huge* become [judʒ]. But *humor* was more often [jumə] than [hjumə]. In words like *where*, *which*, etc., [ɹ] is usual in Virginia. But [w] cropped up occasionally, in greatest proportion on the Eastern Shore, where 3 out of 6 had it: *where* [wer] T 12%, P 6%, V 1%, A 10%; *which* [wɪtʃ] T 10%, P 6%, V 1%, A 10%.

SUMMARY

Vowels. There is a somewhat greater tendency in the western section than in the eastern to change [ɪ] to [ɛ] in words like *vanilla* and *since*. More speakers in the western section than in the eastern say [rɪntʃ] and [rɛntʃ], and more change [ɛ] to [ɪ] in words like *many* and *friends*. East of the Blue Ridge [əfrɛd] and [grɛt] and [ægɛm] are heard more frequently than west. The forms ['tɛrɪb] and ['bɛrɪd] appear more often in the east than in the west (though [fɹɪðə] is more common in the west). The vowels [a] and [ɑ] in words like *dance* and *ask* are much more common in the eastern than in the western section. Even [ant] was heard in only a little over half the tested western speakers, as opposed to nearly 90% in the eastern section. In words of the *forest*, *moral* class the pronunciations with [ɑ] are greatly in the majority in the eastern section, except on the Eastern Shore, where forms with [ɔ] almost approached the proportions of the western section. The varying pronunciations of these words were more nearly equal in the west, where a larger proportion of [ɔ] to [ɑ] might be expected. Only in *moral* was [ɔ] dominant in the west. In the words of this class the intermediate vowel [ɒ] appeared with surprising frequency. In *god* and *rod*, [ɔ] was more common in the east than in the west, but the reverse was true in *mock* and *closet*, which had [ɔ] more often in the west. In *fog* [ɔ] was dominant, but [fag] was heard more often in the east than in the west. In *water* [ɑ] was more common in the western part, as was [ɔ] in *Washington*. There is less agreement on [əpən] than on [ɔn], more of [əpən] appearing in the west. In *door* and *floor*, [ɔ] is the prevalent sound in the west, [ou] in the east. The supposed shibboleth of [buʃ] for *bush* and [dɪʃ] for *dish*, of which

Valley residents are accused, appeared just as often in the eastern part of the state. The vowel [u] appeared more often than [ʊ] in words like *roof* and *room*, and even in *coop*, though the typical Southern speaker is supposed to say [kʊp].

Diphthongs. The diphthongs are perhaps more irregular in the western section than in the eastern. Before voiceless consonants [au] is commonly [æʊ] in the west, [ɜʊ] in the east; but before a voiced consonant it usually becomes [æʊ] in all sections. The diphthong [aɪ] before a voiced consonant is more often [a] or [aə] in all sections than [aɪ], though pronunciations like [tard] and [fard] for *tired* and *fired* are more likely to be heard west of the Blue Ridge. In *boil*, [ɔɪ] is less frequent than [ɔ] or [ɔə] in all sections, though most conspicuously so in the west, where alone provincialisms like [tɔrlət] and [sɔrl] for *toilet* and *soil* are heard.

Consonants. There seems to be a greater tendency to change medial [ɾ] to [d] and medial [d] to [t] in the east than in the west; in *hold*, however, more western than eastern speakers changed final [d] to [t]. For *length* and *strength*, [lɛnθ] and [stɹɛnθ] are much more common in the west than in the east. Though such usages as [mɪzrəz] and [əkskeɪp], for *Mrs.* and *escape*, occur more often in the west, the figures show fairly equal distribution of provincial pronunciation. There were many more speakers with postvocalic [r] in the western section than in the eastern (with the exception of the Eastern Shore, where 83% of the tested speakers had postvocalic [r]).

Virginia speech cannot be conveniently classified in geographical or ethnological divisions because in spite of physical and national differences the usages throughout the state, with some exceptions, are comparable. The exceptions, which may be studied in detail in the figures above, include the spread of postvocalic [r], the distribution of [ɑ], [ʊ], [ɔ] in words like *forest* and *moral*, the changes in the diphthongs, and the tendency to raise or lower [ɪ]. Otherwise the speech of no part of the state differs widely from that of other parts. The general pattern is Southern, though in the western part of the state some sounds suggest General American. In all sections may be found the Southern [ɔn] for *on*, [grɛt] and [nekəd] for *great* and *naked*, [tjun] for *tune*, and the characteristically Virginian [ant] for *aunt*, [hæʊs] and [həʊs] for *house* and [hæʊzəz] for *houses*, and [av] for *I've*. At the crest of the Blue Ridge, however, begin such pronunciations as [mɔrəl] and ['ɔrɪndʒ] and ['wɔʃɪŋtən] and [əpən] that spread out in West Virginia and finally merge with General American further west.

KIPLING'S BARRACK-ROOM LANGUAGE

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SINCE MORE PERSONS are, in all probability, today speaking English in barracks than ever before, in East and West, North and South, the classical record of barrack room speech by Rudyard Kipling assumes new interest. Military life on a large scale always tends to democratize and refurbish speech, at the same time giving new impulses to the more artistic forms of expression. Poetry was not, it seems, born in the universities, though it has often died there; it was born in the tents before Troy. The ways of language and art are basically much the same, from war to war and age to age. Something of what Kipling made from the speech of Tommy Atkins in India over fifty years ago new writers are in the near future bound to make, with only incidental differences, from the speech of American expeditionary forces. So it is tempting to glance back on Kipling's remarkable accomplishment with the assurance that it represents a permanent contribution and an inspiring example to English literature. Reaction against Kipling, it is true, began when he himself reacted against his own better genius. No one ever did more to cast doubts and shadows upon achievements of his earlier years. In place of the vital, dialectical language and lively, realistic art of his early works he fed the public with solemn, banal moralizings, commonly of the most vulgar character, and often in behalf of no enviable political cause. The lesson of his career is too well known today to bear restatement. Yet his remarkable ballads shine as brightly as on the day of their appearance, challenging renewed interest and linguistic reinterpretation.

The poems with which this article deals are his first and incomparably his finest series, that devoted to the Indian service and written between 1889 and 1891. They are only twenty in number. Here his work becomes by all odds the most interesting to both the linguist and the literary critic, since it so far surpasses his later writing in both dialectical and imaginative style.

Although the language of these ballads rather than their versification concerns us here, a few glimpses at their verse form shows Kipling's sensitivity to popular rhythms. The use of tripping anapests in the chorus to *Danny Deever*, in contrast to the grave iambs of the stanzas themselves, goes far to express the masterly irony of the first and most brilliant of his lyrics. While the heart is heavy, the body is forced to march briskly to a military quick-step. The movement of the chorus

suggests that of the march. As a rule, the structure of Kipling's ballads is far more complex than that of popular soldier songs. Nevertheless in a few cases he successfully employs the forms of the usual folk ballad, as in the fine tragi-comical song, 'Soldier, soldier come from the wars.'

The word-consciousness of men faced with the need to refresh their speech in the presence of new circumstances gives a touch of Elizabethan richness to the words. The popular appeal of alliterative parallelisms shows in such a phrase as 'ark an' 'eed,'¹ and a similar appeal to the ear is heard in the words 'hairy scary oont.'² 'Oont' for 'camel' is a word expressive to the ear, regarding which the author supplies a note. He tells us that the 'oo is pronounced like *u* in "bull," but by Mr. Atkins to rhyme with "front." The poet, however, gives a happier lead in the rhyme word used in his own first stanza, which is not 'front' but 'grunt.' The camel's grunt seems actually implied in Mr. Atkins's word. Even the soldiers' exclamations have special appeal to the ear, as the 'Baal Yah! Bahl' in *Gentlemen-Rankers*. The frequent grandiloquence of naive speech is charmingly captured in the word 'barbarious.'³ Similarly a true and native idiom enlivens even the surprising and speciously literary phrase, 'we simultaneous rose.'⁴ No less startling in the same manner are the words 'amazin' first.'⁵

An extension of the word-consciousness shown in the foregoing expressions appears in the large number of onomatopoeic words. Among these may be noted 'jinglety-jink,'⁶ referring to the sound of the chains of a gun carriage, 'tinkly temple-bells,'⁷ and 'whirraru,'⁸ meaning the whizz of weapons used in a tavern fight.

More imaginative words showing a still fresher language sense are used freely, though with some classical sense of proportion and never so lavishly as to mystify us. We read of elephants laboring in a 'sludgy, squidgy creek,'⁹ of the warriors of the Sudan 'sloshed with Martinis,'¹⁰ and of the 'squidgy-nosed' Gunga Din, whose unsightly appearance is summarized in the words 'you Lazarushian-leather.' Again, saving his best for his last, Atkins sums up his praise of the agile 'Fuzzy-Wuzzy' in the ecstatic line, 'E's a daisy, 'e's a ducky, 'e's a lamb!'¹¹ where words issue from the heart's desire of the speaker and certainly not from a regard for linguistic decorum. The poetic texture of the style often depends upon similar very simple deflections from the normal. So an artillery troop negotiating a

1. *Route Marchin'.*

2. *Oonts.*

3. *The Widow at Windsor.*

4. *Belts.*

5. *'Snarleyow.'*

6. *Screw-Guns.*

7. *Mandalay.*

8. *Belts.*

9. *Mandalay.*

10. *'Fuzzy-Wuzzy.'*

11. *Ibid.*

steep grade is described as having 'nipped against an uphill.'¹² The word 'uphill' is certainly stronger than the conventional 'ascent' or 'upgrade.'

The gift of naive people for coining happy names more than once enlivens Kipling's ballads. Beyond question 'Fuzzy-Wuzzy' proves the right name for the Sudanese tribesman whose valor Tommy Atkins praises, much as 'Snarleyow' suits his favorite horse. Liberal inventiveness likewise arises in the prevalence of uncommon compounds, among which may be noted as typical: 'mornin'-cool,'¹³ 'shovel-spear,'¹⁴ 'coffin'-eaded,'¹⁵ 'bricky-dry,'¹⁶ 'twisty-wisty,'¹⁷ 'time-expired'¹⁸ (used three times in one poem), 'feather'-eaded,'¹⁹ and 'Hell-for-leather.'²⁰

Highly colloquial or slang forms give much of the racy flavor to Kipling's style. Among the emphatic words of this description are the expressive 'rummy,'²¹ and the admirable 'blowzy,'²² used of housemaids. The use of 'kiddies'²³ instead of 'children' definitely enhances the emotional content of one stanza. We clearly see the East through Atkins's eyes when 'the Great Gawd Budd' is used in place of Buddha, and the rhyme words help out the effect:

Bloomin' idol made o' mud—
Wot they called the Great Gawd Budd—
Plucky lot she cared for idols when I kissed 'er where she stud!²⁴

Other words similarly enhancing warmth and color are 'Lunnon,'²⁵ where we at once see London through Tommy's eyes, and the typical cockney exclamation, 'Ow!'²⁶ Kipling is merely using standard army language in such pointed words as 'fatigue,'²⁷ 'supports,'²⁸ and 'Two's off-lead,'²⁹ and a universally used phrase in 'Stop, conductor!'³⁰ Much broader language of a slangy flavor occurs in 'whoopee,'³¹ 'snigged' (stole),³² 'clobber' (clothes),³³ 'grouse' (grumble),³⁴ 'crack on' (talk back),³⁵ 'blind' (assault),³⁶ 'penk' (tap),³⁷ 'clink',³⁸ 'went slap',³⁹ 'rag-box' (mouth),⁴⁰ and 'shut' (rid of).⁴¹

Kipling's language depends in uncommonly high degree upon the large proportion of figurative, colorful and vigorous verbs. Attractive examples

12. 'Snarleyow.'

13. *Screw-Guns*.

14. 'Fuzzy-Wuzzy.'

15. *Ibid*.

16. *Gunga Din*.

17. *Loot*.

18. *Troopin'*.

19. *Route Marchin'*.

20. *Shillin' a Day*.

21. *Route Marchin'*.

22. *Gentlemen-Rankers*.

23. *Route Marchin'*.

24. *Mandalay*.

25. *Troopin'*.

26. *The Widow at Windsor*.

27. *The Young British Soldier*.

28. *Ibid*.

29. 'Snarleyow.'

30. *Ibid*.

31. *Loot*.

32. *Ibid*.

33. *Ibid*.

34. *The Young British Soldier*.

35. *Ibid*.

36. *Ibid*.

37. *Oonts*.

38. *Belts*.

39. *Shillin' a Day*.

40. *The Young British Soldier*.

41. *Ibid*.

occur in such cases as 'rattles' (drums),⁴² 'lather' (sweat),⁴³ 'chivied' (scrambled up),⁴⁴ 'wopped' (shouted),⁴⁵ 'plugged' (bandaged),⁴⁶ 'skid up' (hurriedly climb),⁴⁷ 'socks' (hits),⁴⁸ 'gall' (complain),⁴⁹ 'lame' (strike),⁵⁰ 'sick' (hunt),⁵¹ 'nipped' (hurried),⁵² 'tuckin'' (going slowly),⁵³ 'crumples',⁵⁴ 'chunkin',⁵⁵ 'sling',⁵⁶ and 'charin'' (doing chars).⁵⁷ Epithets are hardly less animated, as may be judged from such phrases as 'starvation cheap',⁵⁸ 'whackin',⁵⁹ and 'trundlin'.⁶⁰ Tommy Atkins's impression of London housemaids as characterized by 'beefy face an' grubby 'and'⁶¹ is given in precisely the correct idiom. Folk art appears also in the phrase that describes the Moulmein Pagoda 'looking lazy at the sea.'⁶² Kipling knew the power of simple words when he wrote that the 'raw blood flowed.'⁶³ He commands the ever popular diminutive when he writes of the 'recruities.'⁶⁴ In line with his soldier-like epithets are his convincing though never excessive excursions into profanity. We find a rather free use of such words as 'blessed' and 'bloomin', and imprecations upon sore feet that 'urt like 'ell.'⁶⁵

The fondness of popular speech for luxuriant metaphor enlivens many of the poems. Thus a soldier who has had a 'thundering drink'⁶⁶ has a head like a concertina, a tongue like a button-stick, and a mouth like an old potato. The heat of India is so extreme that the 'eyebrows crawl.'⁶⁷ A camel appears, 'With 'is silly neck a-bobbin' like a basket full o' snakes.'⁶⁸ Gin pierces the stomach like 'Fixed Bay'nets.'⁶⁹ The happiness of the British soldier is affectionately described as 'jam.'⁷⁰ Where we might expect the word 'bloody' we discover the more vigorous and expressive 'juicy.'⁷¹ In place of the tamer 'hang' we have the livelier 'swing.'⁷² An emergency bed is admirably described as 'the bight of a canvas trough.'⁷³ Fuzzy-Wuzzy 'played the cat an' banjo with our forces.'⁷⁴ Popular expression in its best racy manner is followed where the tents folded at early dawn are likened to 'button-mushrooms'.⁷⁵

42. *Screw-Guns*.43. *Ibid.*44. *Ibid.*45. *Gunga Din*.46. *Ibid.*47. *Screw-Guns*.48. *Oonts*.49. *Ibid.*50. *Ibid.*51. *Loot*.

52. 'Snarleyow.'

53. *Ibid.*54. *The Young British Soldier*.55. *Mandalay*.56. *Route Marchin'*.57. *Shillin' a Day*.58. *Tommy*.59. *Mandalay*.

60. 'Snarleyow.'

61. *Mandalay*.62. *Ibid.*63. *The Widow's Party*.64. *The Young British Soldier*.65. *Route Marchin'*.66. *Cells*.67. *Gunga Din*.68. *Oonts*.69. *The Young British Soldier*.70. *Oonts*.

71. 'Snarleyow.'

72. *The Young British Soldier*.73. *The Widow's Party*.

74. 'Fuzzy-Wuzzy.'

75. *Route Marchin'*.

The popular rhetoric is again well represented in the profuse and fanciful use of both overstatement and understatement. On the whole the soldier, especially the Anglo-Saxon soldier, is more given to the latter than to the former. When Mr. Atkins wishes to say that he is occasionally killed by the carelessness of his officers, he merely observes that 'that's their little way.'⁷⁶ With tender understatement, he speaks of his country's emblem as a 'bloomin' old rag.'⁷⁷ When half a company is dead, Tommy says that they are 'lying still.'⁷⁸ A day of battle is described as the widow's 'picnic.'⁷⁹ 'It's none so bloomin' dry there,'⁸⁰ concludes Tommy regarding a river where many of his friends have been drowned. Concerning one of the worst of his ills, the stench of the camels, Tommy is content with a humorously mild statement, where much more is meant than meets the ear. The camel, he declares, 'smells most awful vile.'⁸¹ Yet he knows the use of overstatement as well, observing that when the same unpleasant animal gets among the hay, he eats till he 'splits 'isself in two.'⁸² Extravagant and most poetic claims are made for the power of gin, which will 'eat the live steel from your butts.'⁸³

In keeping with the spirit of popular language are a number of phrases of an aphoristic or proverbial character. A fair representative of this may be found in the phrase which describes a cliff at the side of a mountain road as 'straight as a beggar can spit.'⁸⁴ The broad, fantastic folk humor appears happily in the line likening the camel to a 'lumpy-umpy 'ummin'-bird a-singin'.⁸⁵ The affectionate terms of personification often bestowed by workmen on their machines and especially by soldiers on their guns much enliven the *Barrack Room Ballads*. Tommy, for example, humorously terms his guns his 'dear little pets.'⁸⁶

Kipling's barrack-room style has its firm base in poetic and imaginative expression as derived from the folk mind; only superficially does it rely upon specifically cockney dialect. It is true that Kipling gains something by a few marks of cockney speech. But these neither extend far nor mount up to an impressive sum. Besides a profuse but inconsistent use of the 'h' where it does not belong in Standard English and an equally inconsistent omission of it where it does belong, the poet has really taken few steps toward a conscientious use of dialect. Nor was it to be expected nor desired that he should do so. The difficulties of faithfully suggesting any dialect with the use of the standard alphabet and the peculiar elusiveness of cockney speech are universally conceded. Happily the true grasp of Kip-

76. *Troopin'*.

77. *The Widow at Windsor*.

78. *The Widow's Party*.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ford o' Kabul River*.

81. *Oonts*.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *The Young British Soldier*.

84. *Screw-Guns*.

85. *Oonts*.

86. *Screw-Guns*.

ling's poems by no means depends on a thorough familiarity with the peculiarities of lower class British speech. What Kipling does achieve with marked success is a racy, colorful speech faithful to popular usage in general and to military usage in particular. With Homeric energy he digs in the rich and somewhat raw soil from which language and poetry by nature and tradition spring.

INQUIRIES

'Is *sitting in the catbird seat* a current expression or a nonce formation?' asks a contributor. 'Red Barber, the baseball radio announcer, uses it frequently. What is the catbird seat?' The expression appeared in print in *The Family Circle*, issued by the Safeway Stores, September 7, 1943.

A newspaper item of June 20, 1943, announced that 'Lincoln chapter of the Nebraska Better Fishing Association will hold a *skish* tourney at Oak Creek park next Sunday, June 27. The tourney will include six main events, men's women's and children's bait and fly casting, with a distance fly and bait casting event to conclude the day's program.' Is *skish* a localism or a standard term among fishing devotees?

Walk the paper through is an expression employed by *Forbes*, September 15, 1943, note, p. 16.

'In short the Washington front man knows how to "walk the paper through."' How is a paper walked through? asks a reader.

Advertising matter from the *Atlantic Monthly*, sent out in October, 1942, quotes a laudatory letter received from a subscriber, who lives in Greensboro, North Carolina. 'You have been *walking in high cotton* for a long time. Every month when the *Atlantic* arrives I feel like saying, "Hi, honey!" You have never failed nor disappointed me.' Is the expression 'walking in high cotton' the author's own or a current saying? asks a Central Westerner.

Still another inquirer is interested in the term *holliken*. 'It was used early in this century in about the same meaning as "critter" except that it was applied only to persons.' He wonders whether it is still heard anywhere or has dropped entirely from use.

GERMAN TRAVELLERS AND LANGUAGE IN AMERICA¹

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MANY GERMAN TRAVELLERS who came to the United States in the nineteenth century or before recorded their impressions of the country in the form of diaries, straight narratives, and letters to persons real or imaginary. Their accounts were not intended to be sociological, scientific treatises, but rather were to serve as handbooks and guides to prospective German emigrants. They rarely fail to reveal the basic attitude of their authors to the various customs or institutions, such as the churches, the government, the schools, and so forth, of the United States.

These books constitute a relatively unexplored mine of information on early American pronunciation and lexicon. The number of expressions uncovered which are not recorded in either the *OED* or the *DAE* runs into many dozens. Often the context indicates the need for redefinitions or for additions to the entries in those dictionaries. A few examples are: *bay shooting* (a type of hunt carried on, apparently, from sailing vessels or rowboats);² *benevolent institution* (the purpose of which was to help poor women in labor to deliver their children within their own homes);³ *bluestraw* (a type of wheat);⁴ *cheap ware store* (precursor of the five-and-ten);⁵ *clear mess* (side of pork, the ribs of which have been removed);⁶ *cold piece* (snack);⁷ *commutation money* (head tax?);⁸ and so on through the alphabet.⁹

1. Sincere thanks are due to Dr. Mitford M. Mathews of the editorial staff of the *Dictionary of American English* for his helpful suggestions.

2. C. L. Fleischmann, *Wegweiser und Rathgeber nach und in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1852), p. 245. The expression appears to have had at least some local currency. Note that the remarks enclosed in parentheses above are not meant as definitions but rather as indications of the nature of the context to which the interested reader is referred in the footnotes.

3. Jacques P. Brissot, *Neue Reise durch die Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten im Jahr 1788* (Berlin, 1792), p. 179. The *DAE* records *benevolent society* and *benevolent association*, though not exactly with this meaning. The locale here is Philadelphia, among the Quakers.

4. Karl Büchele, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1855), p. 25.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 472. This expression seems to have been in common use.

6. Fleischmann, *ibid.*, p. 206. The term *clear pork* does appear in the *DAE*, but the definitions do not coincide.

7. J. G. Büttner, *Briefe aus und über Nordamerika* (Dresden und Leipzig, 1845), Vol. I, p. 2.

8. Büchele, *op. cit.*, p. 503. Unfortunately, not even this context clears up entirely the meaning of this expression. In this instance the money was paid when the passage was bought.

9. Some lexical material from this collection appeared in the column 'New Evidence

The purpose of this article, however, apart from calling attention to the existence of these valuable sources, is to discuss, in a general way, the disposition of the travellers toward language problems of German immigrants into this country during the period indicated. The author is fully aware that this is only a sketch of a general impression and that a complete discussion would require far more space. The preliminary study here presented is based on over a dozen accounts extending from the last two decades of the eighteenth century to about 1855.

At the outset one is impressed by the uniform way in which these travellers identify, as a matter of course, culture with race, race with language. They urge their compatriots to retain, even to propagate their identity; as one of them puts it, 'a true German will be glad to propagate his German on his descendants.'¹⁰ The German language served as a fence to keep out American culture and as a weapon to ward off assimilation; and the immigrants 'used every social milieu, the home, the church, the school, the press, in the fight to preserve the German language, even among their children and grandchildren.'¹¹

One of the problems the reader constantly comes across is this: Will the German language be eventually adopted in America? Or will the two languages, German and English, coexist? Or will English entirely displace German? This last possibility is all but dismissed, and opinion is divided between the other two. Friedrich Herrmann thinks that German will be retained, but in a highly modified form: the mother tongue, he claims, will be retained, but will be unrecognizable on account of the numerous English words and constructions mixed therein.¹² This process of linguistic fusion is regarded as a deterioration, and the 'new language' as a contemptible bastard from the union of pure German with English. An amusing, and valuable even though short, sample of the 'new language' was recorded by Johann Schöpf.¹³ He relates how he accosted a German peasant in America and how the peasant got to talking with him. He addressed Schöpf, verbatim, as follows: 'Ich hab' wollen . . . mit meinem Nachbar tscheinen (join) und ein Stück geklaret (cleared) Land purt-

on Americanisms,' *American Speech*, 17: 207-208 (1942), and it is hoped that more will be printed under the same heading.

10. 'Ein wahrer Deutscher will auch gern das Deutsche auf seine nachkommen fortpflanzen.' Ernst Brauns, *Praktische Belehrungen und Rathschläge für Reisende und Auswanderer nach Amerika* (Braunschweig, 1829), p. 210.

11. Cf. John A. Hawgood's brilliant account, *The Tragedy of German America* (New York and London, 1940), p. 39.

12. 'Die Muttersprache wird . . . beybehalten, aber sie ist durch beygemischte englische Worte und Constructionen so entstellt, dass man sie nicht wieder erkennt.' *Die Deutschen in Nordamerika* (Lübben, 1806), p. 108.

13. *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten* (Erlangen, 1788), Vol. I, p. 158.

chasen (purchase). Wir hätten, no doubt, ein guten Barghen (bargain) gemacht, und hätten können gut darauf ausmachen. Ich war aber net capable so'ne Summe Geld aufzumachen, und konnt nicht länger expekten. Das thät mein Nachbar net gleichen, und fieng an mich übel zu yuhsen (use one ill), so dacht ich, 's ist besser du thust mit aus (to do without).' They not only incorporate English words into their German, adds Herrmann, but literally translate these phrases 'so that they make no sense,' as *er dreht ab* 'he turns off,' when they mean *er wendet sich vom Weg ab*; or *er kommt mit ihm auf* 'he catches up with him,' when they mean *er holt jemanden auf dem Weg ein*, and so on. Again, charges Hermann, they confuse an English word with a German word of similar pronunciation but of totally different meaning, such as *das belangt zu mir* 'that belongs to me.'

Brauns is equally distressed by this sort of 'jargon,' but he thinks that the purity of German will prevail in the end. He finds distinct comfort in the knowledge that German is still used in the churches. Of course, both Catholics and Lutherans had excellent reasons, as Professor Hawgood points out, to maintain German in schools. Brauns expresses the wishful thinking of many a clergyman when he remarks that German has been spoken in America for over a century, and that even though some pseudo-German priest or rich Anglomaniac in America may ardently desire it, we shall not live to see German give way to English.¹⁴

Lack of facility with the English language, nevertheless, placed German communities at a distinct political disadvantage. The farmers were anxious to find representation in the Assembly, but the members whom they dispatched were often insufficiently equipped with English. This prevented them from influencing the Houses and, in fact, they were frequently even ignorant of the question on the floor. A story of Herrmann's plainly shows this: it concerns a member who heard the speaker on the floor 'moving the house.' He got up, Herrmann relates, walked out silently, and carefully inspected the building from all sides; then he came in and protested that such a bulk could be moved from its place and location with but great difficulty.¹⁵

Whatever the true cause for the insistence upon the preservation of the German language (Hawgood attributes it to a reaction against conditions which the Germans encountered in their new home), it certainly con-

14. 'Schon seit länger als einem Jahrhundert ist sie in Amerika geredet, und wir werden es auch wohl nicht erleben, dass sie dort im Englischen untergeht, obgleich dies mancher pseudo-deutsche Prediger und mancher reiche Anglomane in Amerika sehnlich wünschet.' Brauns, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

15. '... dass eine so grosse Masse, wie dieses Haus, sich wohl schwerlich von Ort und Stelle werde rücken lassen.' *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

tributed to a feeling of enmity with the English speaking peoples. As an ethnic group the Germans seem to have been railed at in proportion to their ignorance of the dominant language. The travellers complain of such terms of contempt as *Dutch boor*, *Dutch beggars*, *German paupers*, *black Dutch*, or *damned shabby Dutchmen*.¹⁶ J6rg adds that even 'Sauerkraut' is used as an expression of mockery: nothing more insulting than 'dutch sourcrout'.¹⁷

The German travellers felt, rightly or wrongly, that their German cultural background was superior to American culture, and they believed that it could best be preserved by the instrument of language. Their attitude is epitomized excellently in a poem found on the flyleaf of one of the travel-reports:

Deutsche, vermenget Euch nicht! Bleibt Deutsche! Ihr bleibt es durch Sprache:
Sprache bindet Euch fest; nur ehret und liebet sie innig!
Keine ersetzt Euch die Eure. Nur Muttersprache bezeichnet
Echt, was die Seele empfindet, denket, ersinnet, und ausforscht.
Haltet sie ein, ein Spiegel des Volks, dann raubet sie nimmer
Äussre Gewalt; die scheitert an Einheit des Volks und der Sprache.¹⁸

16. See, for example, Eduard J6rg, *Briefe aus den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig, 1853), Vol. I, p. 41.

17. 'Selbst Kraut wird da nicht gebaut und Sauerkraut ist nur als ein Spottname der Deutschen (a dutch sourcrout) bekannt.' *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

18. Brauns, *op. cit.*, prec. title-page. The poem may be roughly translated as follows: 'Germans, do not mingle! Stay Germans! You do so by means of language: language unites you; therefore honor it and love it fervently! None replaces your own. The mother tongue alone signifies truly what the soul feels, thinks, contrives, and searches out. Follow it, a mirror of the people, then no outside power will ever deprive you of it; this (i.e., such an outside power) is wrecked by unity of the people and the language.'

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

American Forum of the Air, October 5, 1943. Topic: Should Women be Drafted?

Judge Dorothy Kenyon, Attorney (the speaker was born in New York City):

... ən 'ðen wi 'mɑst əv 'koəs prə'vaɪd fə ,kūⁿ'frɪ'entʃəs əb'dʒektəz| dʒʌst
əz wi 'du ɪn ði 'ʔɑ:əmɪ|| ɪt 'sɪmz tə 'mi ðət ɪts 'rɪəlɪ ə 'kwestʃn əv
'taɪmɪŋ| ʔən əv sə'fɪʃənt 'seɪf'gɑ:ədʒ fə 'le:ɪ:bə|| 'wɹ̥ʌ^s ðə 'taɪm 'kɑmz|
æn aɪm 'nat sə'fɪʃəntli ɪn'fɔ:əmd əv ðə 'fækt tə bi 'sɜ:tn ə'baur ɪt aɪ 'θɪŋk
wi 'hæv tə 'lɪv 'ðæt| tu ði 'ekspəts| aɪ 'θɪŋk wi hævnt 'skreɪpt ðə 'bæʒəl
'jetl bət ðət wɪə 'getɪŋ 'ðeə 'veəri 'su:n|| 'ðen wi 'mɑst hæv kən'skrɪpʃən|
wɪð 'ðɪz ə'prɒ:ʊpriət 'seɪf'gɑ:ədʒl æn aɪ bə'lɪv| 'ðæt wɪə goɪŋ tə 'wɜ:k ɪt
'aʊt 'ɔl 'raɪt||

Miss Fern Colborn, Director of Beth Eden, Philadelphia (the speaker was born in Mill Run, Fayette Co., Pennsylvania):

'dʒʌdʒ 'kenjən hæv 'dʒʌst 'sed ðət wi 'hæv-ə 'præktɪklɪ 'skreɪpt ði
'bærəm əv ðə 'beʒəl|

Judge Kenyon: ɔ:ʊ aɪ 'dɪdnt| aɪ 'sed aɪ 'dɪdnt 'nau| aɪ 'felt wi wə
'prəbəblɪ getɪŋ 'klaʊs tu ɪt||

Miss Colborn: ʌ-ə'kɔ:ədɪŋ| 'tu| 'ði| stə'tɪstɪks ðət 'aɪ 'rɪd| aɪ 'faɪnd ðət
wi 'hæv| 'sevn'tɪn ən ə 'hæf 'mɪljən 'wɪmən hul bi əm'plɔɪd bə ði 'end
əv 'naɪm'tɪn 'fɔ:ən 'θɪ|| ə'baut 'tu 'mɪljən əv 'ðɪz ʌ əm'plɔɪd ɔn 'faʊmz||
'ðɪs 'ɪz| 'faɪv 'mɪljən 'moə 'wɪmən| 'nāʊ 'wɜ:kɪŋ ðən ɪn 'pɪs 'taɪm|| 'nau
aɪ 'θɪŋk wi hæv 'oʊvə 'fɪftɪ 'wʌn 'mɪljən 'wɪmən ɪn ðə 'kɑntrɪ| ə'baut
'θɜ:ɪ 'mɪljən əv 'ðɪz 'ʔəə 'houm 'meɪkəz|| ə 'læədʒ prə'pɔ:ʃn əv ðə
'faɪv 'mɪljən ə'bʌv 'pɪs'taɪm 'wɜ:kəz hæv 'kɑm| frəm ðə 'houm,meɪkəz
'grʊp|| bət 'oʊnli ə'baut| 'ten aʊr əv ðə 'θɜ:ɪ 'mɪljən hæv 'smɔl 'tʃɪldən||
'nau 'ðen| 'ði| 'wɔ:ə 'mæn 'paʊə kə'mɪʃn 'ɹestəmeɪnts| ðæt wi 'nɪd 'oʊnli
ə'nʌðə 'mɪljən 'wɪmən| bəɪ dʒə'laɪ 'naɪn'tɪn 'fɔ:ən 'fo:ə|| 'ðɪs 'ðen 'lɪvz|
ət 'lɪst 'fɪf'tɪn 'mɪljən 'wɪmən frəm mɪtʃ tə 'drɔ 'wʌn 'mɪljən|| 'mʌs wi
'ðeə'fo:ə go ɪntu ðə 'kɔst əv ə 'leɪbə 'dræft||

Dr. Jane Clark Carey, Assoc. Director, the National Institute of Public Affairs (the speaker was born in Washington, D.C.):

ən 'koəs ju kən 'prʊv 'ʔeniθɪŋ| bəɪ stə'tɪstɪks|| əz 'aɪ 'ʌndə'stʊd| wi
hæd 'sevn'tɪn ən ə 'hæf 'mɪljən 'wɪmən ət 'wɜ:k 'ðɪs 'sɑmə| 'nat 'neks
'sɑmə|| bət 'ðæt ɪn'klʊdəd| 'ɔl 'ði| ,ægrɪ'kʌltʃərəl 'wɜ:kəz| ənɪt ɪt 'ɔlso
ən'klʊdəd 'ɔl ðə 'stʊdənts| hu wə 'wɜ:kɪŋ 'du:ɪŋ ðə 'sɑmə|| ʔʌ-'meðə wi

* The following transcriptions were made from phonographic recordings of part of a radio broadcast.

'nid 'wan 'miljən ɔθ 'θri 'miljən 'wɜkɜz| drɪ'pendz ɔn 'mæðə wi teɪk ɪntə ə'kaʊnt ðɪ rɪ'nɔməs 'tɜn,ʊvə| 'mɪtʃ| əz 'ɛvrɪwən 'nouz| wɪə 'naʊ 'hævɪŋ||
 ðə 'wɔɜ 'mæn 'paʊə kə'mɪʃn 'sez ðæt wɪə 'gouɪŋ tə 'nid| ə'baut 'θri 'miljən
 'θri 'hʌndrəd 'θaʊzənd 'wɜkɜz|ʔʌ| bəɪ dʒu'laɪ| tʊ 'teɪk ðə 'pleɪs| ʔʌv ðə
 'wan 'miljən| ðæt ɜ 'ʔæktʃʊlɪ 'nɪdəd 'nɛt| bə'kɔz əv ðɪ 'tɜn'ʊvə|| ən ðə
 'kwɛstʃn 'ɪz| ənd əɪ 'θɪŋk ɪts ə 'vɛrɪ 'dɪfə'kʌlɪt 'kwɛstʃn| 'mæðə| 'tɜn'ʊvə|
 ɪz rə'lɛɪtəd| tə 'dræft| ɜ tə 'frɪdəm|| ən ðəz 'wan 'θɪŋ əɪ wəd laɪk tʊ
 'ʔask 'raɪt 'ðɛə| 'dʒʌst 'mʌt 'dʌz mɪs 'kəʊlbən 'mɪn| bəɪ hɜ 'jʊs əv ðə
 'wɜd 'frɪdəm| ɪn hɜ 'ʊpənɪŋ 'steɪtmənt| bə'kɔz əɪ 'θɪŋk| 'ðæt| ɪz pə'hæps
 ðə 'krʌks əv ðə 'mætə||

Miss Lillian Hellman, Playwright (the speaker was born in New Orleans, La.):

. . . aɪv bɪn 'vɛrɪ 'pʌzld 'maɪ| 'pipl hu bə'liv ɪn ðə 'dræft əv 'leɪbəl
 ʌ-'dɔʊnt 'ænsəl| 'dɔʊnt 'ɪvɪn sɪm tə kən'sɪdə| ðə 'fækt ðæt 'dræftɪŋ əv 'mɛn
 ɔ 'wɪmən fər ən 'ʌmɪ| ə tə 'wɜk fər ə 'gʌvən'mənt| ɪz ə 'vɛrɪ 'dɪfrənt 'θɪŋ
 frəm 'dræftɪŋ 'praɪvət 'sɪtəsɪz tə 'wɜk fə 'praɪvət 'sɪtəsɪz|| ɪts ə 'vɛrɪ|
 əɪ 'θɪŋk ə 'rɪəl ə'tæk| ɔn| ðə 'raɪts əv 'mɛn|| əɪ 'dɔʊnt-ʌ ə'gri wɪð 'pipl
 hu 'tɔk ə'baut-əl| prə'zɛvɪŋ 'frɪdəmz| bɪ'kɔz ju 'dɔʊnt prɪ'zɛv 'frɪdəmz|
 bəɪ 'nʌt 'meɪkɪŋ 'pipl 'wɜk ɔ 'meɪkɪŋ ðəm 'wɜk|| bət ɪt 'sɪmz tə 'mɪ ə
 'vɛrɪ 'streɪndʒ 'prəbləm| ə 'streɪndʒ fɔmju'leɪʃn əv ðə 'prəbləm| ðæt
 'wan wəd bɪ 'wɪlɪŋ tʊ-ʌ| ə'lau 'pipl tə bɪ 'dræftəd tə 'wɜk fər 'ʔʌðə
 'pipl|| ɪt 'ɔl 'sɪmz tə kʌm 'bæk tə 'ðæt 'θɪŋ|| əɪ kən 'sɪ 'kwɑɪt 'wel
 haʊ ju wəd 'dræft fər ən 'ʔa-mɪ fə ðə də'fens əv ə 'kʌntrɪ| fə ðə 'faɪtɪŋ
 əv ðə 'wɔɜəl|| bət 'maɪ ju wəd 'dræft 'mɛn ənd 'wɪmɪn tə 'wɜk fər-ʌ|
 'prəfət| fə 'ʔðə 'pipl| mʌt 'raɪt ju wəd 'hæv tə 'du ət| ɪz 'sʌmθɪŋ ðæt
 əɪ dɔʊnt bə'liv hɜz 'ɔfn 'hæpnd ɪn ə də'mʌkrəsi| ɔ 'fʊd 'hæpn||

Judge Kenyon: wəl 'aɪ ə'gri 'vɛrɪ 'mʌtʃ wɪð 'mɪs 'hɛlmən ən əɪ 'θɪŋk|
 ɪn ðə brɪ'gɪnɪŋ| 'prəbəblɪ| əɪ 'left 'aʊt ðɪ ɛm'plɔɪ'ɜz bɪkɜz| əɪ wɜz ə 'lɪtl
 'wɜɪd ə'baut| haʊ 'lɔŋ əɪ wɜz 'gouɪŋ tə 'teɪk|| ɪt ɪz 'pɜfɪktlɪ 'tru| ɪt 'sɪmz
 tə 'mɪ| 'ðæt ɪf wɪ 'hæv eɪ 'draɪt fɔɜ 'ɪndʌstrɪ əv 'mɛn ɔθ 'wɪmən| ən əɪ
 meɪk 'nɔʊ dɪs'tɪŋkʃn bə'twɪn ðəm| əɪm dʒʌst 'tɔkɪŋ ə'baut 'eɪ 'draɪt| ɪn
 'ɪndʌstrɪ| 'ðæt ɛm'plɔɪ'ɜz mʌst 'ɔlsəʊ səb'mɪt tʊ ə 'gɹeɪt 'dɪl 'mɔɜ ɪn
 ðə 'weɪ əv ,rɛgju'leɪʃn ən kən'tra:ʊ:l|ʌ| ɪn 'ɔədə tʊ 'meɪk ɪt ət 'ʔɔl 'feɪə
 'tʊ ðə 'wɜkɜ|| ʌ| 'nʌt 'əʊnlɪ 'mʌst ðə 'junjənz bɪ 'wɪlɪŋ tʊ əd'mɪt 'wɪmən
 tʊ 'mɛmbəʃɪp| bət ðɪ ɛm'plɔɪ'ɜz mʌst bɪ 'wɪlɪŋ tə 'teɪk ðəm|| 'ðɛə 'mʌst
 bɪ| ʌ| ɪm'plɔɪ'mənt| ʌ| kən'trɔʊtʊl| 'ðɛə 'mʌst bɪ 'weɪdʒɪz ən 'wɜkɪŋ
 kən'dɪʃnz 'gæəən'tɪd| əɪ 'θɪŋk ðɛə mʌst bɪ ə ,rɛgju'leɪʃn əv ðə
 'prəfəts|| . . .

Dr. Meta Glass, President of Sweet Briar College (the speaker was born in Petersburg, Va.):

dɪd ju 'ask ə 'moumənt ə'gou 'mæðə ðɛə wə 'nʌt 'ʔʌðə 'we:ɪz|| ðɛə

'aʒ səm 'lɒðə 'weɪz ðət 'kʌm tə 'mɑː 'mɑːnd| əv 'koʊs| ənd 'wʌn ɪz ə 'betə
 ,prɪzen'teɪfɪn| tə ðə 'wɪmɪn əv ðə 'kʌntreɪ| ʒæz tu 'mʌt ɪz 'nɪdəd ənd
 'wɔːntɪd|| aɪ 'θɪŋk ðə ,prɪzen'teɪfɪn hæz 'feɪld ɪn ə 'ɡreɪt 'meni 'weɪz||
 . . . aɪ 'θɪŋk 'ɡlæmə wəz ə mɪ'steɪk|| ɔl'ðʊ aɪ əm ʒʌnə'fɪʃəlɪ ənd
 ə'fɛkʃənətɪ ə'tætʃt tə ðə 'neɪvɪ aɪ θɪŋk 'membəʃə wəz ə mɪ'steɪk|| ɪt
 'sɪmz tə mi ðə wəz ə 'ɡreɪt 'dɪl 'moʊl| ðət 'ɒt tə bi prə'zentɪd| ənd aɪ θɪŋk
 ɪts ə 'keɪs əv ɛdʒu'keɪfɪn tu ə 'lɑːdʒ ɪk'stɛnt||

aɪ ʃəd 'laɪk tə 'traː 'wɪkədɪ tə 'tɛn tə ðə 'ɡæləp 'poːvɪl dʒʌst fɔr ə
 'moumɛnt|| 'tu 'mɪljən 'faːv 'hʌndrəd 'θauzənd 'ʒædʌlts ɑ 'rɛdɪ tə 'ɡou
 tə 'wɜk| ənd ðə 'poul 'sez ðət 'ðeɪ wə 'ʌskt| ɪf ðeɪ wəd 'wɜk 'fɔɪ 'eɪt
 'ʒauz| fə 'fɔɪ 'dʌləz ə 'wɪk| 'enɪ'meə ðeɪ wə 'sɛnt əz 'fɑr əz 'θɪ 'hʌndrəd
 'mɑːlz frəm 'houm|| ənd ðeɪ 'sɛd ðeɪ 'wʊd|| aɪ 'kʌnt ɪ'mædʒən mɑɪ
 wɪ məst 'rɛdʒɪstə 'ðɛn| mən 'ɔl wɪv 'ɡʌt tə 'du ɪz tə 'ɡet ɪn 'tʌtʃ wɪð ðə
 'tu 'mɪljən 'faːv 'hʌndrəd 'θauzən^d 'dʌləz| 'faːv 'hʌndrəd 'θauzən^d 'pɪpl|
 æn 'ɡɪv ðəm ə 'fɔɪ 'dʌlə 'dʒʌb| fə 'fɔɪ 'eɪt 'aːz ə 'wɪk| ənd aɪ 'θɪŋk wɪ
 kəd 'du ɪt 'mʌtʃ moə 'spɪdəɪ ðən wɪ kəd 'rɛdʒɪstə| 'ɔl əv ðə 'wɪmɪn hu
 ə 'nʌt 'ɡouɪŋ tə bi ə'veɪləbl ɪn 'ðæt 'laːn|| . . .

These transcriptions were prepared with the assistance of the following students in Phonetics at Teachers College, Columbia University: Eileen Grabson, Edeleia Quiros, and Mary Ann Vandaveer.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'MARK TWAIN: MAN AND LEGEND'

A CAREER so characteristically national and a personality so vigorous, contradictory and revealing as the career and personality of Mark Twain have occasioned a notable series of interpretations, one contradicting the other. The two theories most dramatically opposed are those of Van Wyck Brooks and of Bernard DeVoto, the first analyzing Clemens as a classic instance of psychological repression, the second picturing him as equally an instance of psychological expansion, the theory in either case being a function of a particular interpretation of the national culture.

Mr. Ferguson enters the arena¹ as the advocate of no party, bringing to his hero the kind of saving common-sense that made his work on Burns refreshing. For once, the dust jacket is virtually accurate: 'Mr. Ferguson was led to write a new biography which, by linking the events of Mark's life with their subsequent use in his literary work, throws light on both the individual and his creative effort.' For Mr. Ferguson the education of Mark Twain into literature was, among other important things, a function of his success in the newspaper world and on the lecture platform. Small thanks were due to Bret Harte; on the contrary, it was the 'ability so to transfer speech to paper that the speaker came alive for the reader' which (in the 'Jumping Frog' story) first revealed the genius. So convinced is Mr. Ferguson that the primary drive in Mark Twain's development was in his sense oral and journalistic that he not only buries the Van Wyck Brooks theory of domestic repression fathoms deep, he declares that 'the architectonics of literature, the planning of a book as an organic whole' meant little to Twain, whose interest in 'literature' was 'always in the style, rather than the story—in the technique of an art in which he himself had no technique beyond lucidity.'

This is an attractive theory by reason of its simplicity, but Mr. Ferguson, in turn, becomes hobby-horsical. The theory will take you three-fourths of the way, so to speak, but it will not take you all of the way. Compare, for example, 'The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg' with the Jumping Frog story; or compare 'Eve's Diary' with 'Mrs. McWilliams and the Lightning'; or 'A Horse's Tale' with that spavinned piece about the recent carnival of crime in Connecticut. What intervenes between these two groups, it seems to me, is precisely an art of literature, a technique, a quality of architecture that Twain has laboriously learned. The later 'tales' are like French *contes*; the earlier ones are, as Mr. Ferguson rightly

1. DeLancey Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend*. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1943. 352 pp.

points out, oral and anecdotal. There is more Voltaire in 'Captain Stormfield's Voyage to Heaven' and 'The Mysterious Stranger' than the journalist-lecturer theory quite allows for—the Voltaire who wrote 'L'Ingenu' and 'Zadig' and 'Micromégas.' A study has yet to be made of Mark Twain's management of plot and architecture. Sometimes, as in *The Gilded Age* and *A Connecticut Yankee*, the plot merely exists to bring in anything that strikes the author's fancy; but the line of development in *The Prince and the Pauper*, on the other hand, has logic and balance, however mediocre the story on other grounds, and the logic and balance are not those of the journalist and lecturer only. No, there was a craftsman hidden away in that complex personality as well as a speaker and a newspaper man; and, extravagantly as the craftsman sometimes failed, there were also times when he succeeded as Voltaire succeeded—in the moral apologue, the tale that reveals ethical judgment without ever quite falling into allegory.

But all this is to do considerable injustice to Mr. Ferguson, whose book is reliable, clear, sympathetic, and just, even though, in the judgment of this reviewer, he has over-simplified the development of the literary person.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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'UNDERSTANDING ENGLISH'

SEMANTICS has added to its list of volumes another: *Understanding English* by F. A. Philbrick.¹ When Michel Bréal, the author of that significant work *Essai de Sémantique*, first used, in 1897, the term *semantics* (at that time limited to historical etymology), he could have had no knowledge of the many and varied interpretations and applications which it has at the present time. The study of semantics today is now far broader, including much of what was formerly known as epistemology, the study of the processes and validity of knowledge, and logic. Since almost everything has to be learned through words, semantics spills over into many other fields of knowledge, particularly linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, literary criticism, and natural science. In this age of specialization the greatest advances are being made in studies which cut across various departments and make a new synthesis.

When one thinks of semantics there immediately come to mind Count Alfred Korzybski and his disciples, among them Irving J. Lee and S. I. Hayakawa, the author of *Language in Action*. Interest in the subject has also been stimulated greatly by I. A. Richards and C. K. Ogden. Mr.

1. F. A. Philbrick, *Understanding English*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. xi, 209 pp.

Philbrick's little book owes a great debt to the work of his predecessors. It is not strange to discover in the preface indebtedness to such men as Richards and Ogden, but it may be surprising to find Samuel Taylor Coleridge taking an important place among the semanticists. Coleridge is quoted often throughout the book, and five of the sixteen chapters have as a motto a quotation from him. Among other writers on whom Mr. Philbrick has leaned are Dr. A. N. Whitehead; Professor P. W. Bridgman, author of *The Logic of Modern Physics*; Sir Arthur Eddington; Sir James Jeans; Dr. Stebbing, author of *Philosophy and the Physicists*; Sir James Frazer, who wrote that great book *The Golden Bough*; Jerome Frank, writer of *Law and the Modern Mind*; and Leonard Woolf.

The key idea of the semanticists is that language represents only imperfectly the actualities of the external world, and that there often exists no externality to correspond to a given word. Words stand for ideas as well as for things, and these ideas are frequently colored with emotional bias which makes them less than impersonal in their rendering of an idea.

Since language expresses thought, first there is the author's difficulty of putting thought into language, and then the reader's problem of translating the language into his own words. In the first chapter, entitled 'Writer and Reader,' Mr. Philbrick shows the importance of language and then points out what one should look for in a piece of writing. A writer may be persuasive, as are the propagandists and advertisers, using words of strong emotive power, such as *death, honor, glory*, or confidential, as are some autobiographies and leisurely books, such as *Tristram Shandy*.

Chapter III is devoted to words, showing how they are employed as symbols and what the task of a translator is. The author employs the well known terms used in writings on semantics, *reference* and *referent*, introduced by Ogden and Richards in their pioneer work in the study of words as symbols, *The Meaning of Meaning*. He points out that the most strongly emotive symbols are those whose references have the widest range and that the wider the spread of a symbol is, the vaguer it is. For example, the United States flag may symbolize to some the democratic way of life; to others the Christian way of life; to a businessman private enterprise; to a Nazi something to be hated; and so on. Other vague terms are the abstract words *good, liberty, freedom, and democracy*, which are symbols for wholly different ideas at various times and places and as employed by various people.

Chapter IV explains the importance of Aristotle's statement, 'The greatest thing of all by far is to be a master of metaphor.' Well chosen examples, such as Roosevelt's description of his economic policy as *pump-priming*, Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*, and Christina Rossetti's *Uphill* are analyzed

in detail. Later chapters explain the different types of definition; bias words; value judgments; personification; the use of the part for the whole, as illustrated by 'the average man,' who is fictitious, and the equally fictitious 'foreigner'; bogus entities and bogus questions, such as 'Are Americans braver than Portuguese?'; multiple meaning; the meaning of 'because'; and the language of number, science, and art.

The study of this little book accompanied by the working out of the ample supply of exercises for each chapter will go far toward making the student distinguish fact from fiction. In conjunction with other material it should work well in stimulating him to become conscious of the limitations and capabilities of language. It is salutary, for example, to make the attempt to put solid content into such a word as *democracy*. The wartime effort of our nation, as well as the preparation for an enduring peace, depends largely upon the clarity and truth with which every citizen understands words such as this.

MARGARET M. BRYANT

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NEW LANGUAGE RECORDS

GERMAN

THE FIRST of these four records,¹ *Sprechplatte 1*, is a recording of the sounds of the German language, that is, of the sounds that occur in *Bühnenaussprache*. Side 1A, which presents the vowels, is phonetically arranged: front vowels, back vowels, diphthongs, rounded front vowels, mid-mixed vowel, in that order. Side 1B, the consonants, is somewhat confused. The stops and the bilabial and dental fricatives occur in phonetic order, but the other fricatives, the affricates, and the sonorants are introduced without any apparent plan of arrangement. For some reason [n], [m], and [tʃ] have been omitted. It is likewise difficult to account for the introduction of the stops in initial and medial patterns only, with finals reserved for a kind of coda at the very end of the side. On the whole, however, the record should prove useful, and the other sections that occur at the conclusion of each side, in which phonetically related but phonemically opposed sounds are contrasted—[i:]/[y:], [ts]/[s]/[z], for instance—are features that can be commended without reserve. Professor Funke has succeeded admirably in the difficult task of reproducing the vowels in isolation and has contrived to hold to a minimum the inevitable falling intonation. The recording is excellent and the surfaces are remarkably

1. *Sprechplatten 1, 2, 5L, 6L*. Spoken by Erich Funke, recorded by J. Milton Cowan. Four double-faced records, to be obtained from J. Milton Cowan, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

good. From the mechanical point of view the record is distinctly better than the comparable one offered by Linguaphone.

Sprechplatten 5L and 6L are devoted to the pronunciation of famous *Lieder*, with one side of 5L given over to a brief presentation of the sounds in isolation. *Sprechplatte* 2 offers a reading of several anecdotes from the classroom text *Lustiges Deutsch*. The material on disks 5L and 6L is read with distinction and reproduced to perfection, and there is every reason to believe that students of German, music students in particular, will find them of considerable assistance. If the reviewer may permit himself one cavilling objection, he would like to protest against the Joe Miller quality of the anecdotes on disk 2. The pause after each narration registers as a dull thud.

VICTOR A. OSWALD, JR.

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SPANISH

The first face in this series² contains vowels and diphthongs; the rest is dedicated to the consonants. Each sound is given isolated, within single words, and in a sentence. Dr. López-Morillas is an example of good Castilian pronunciation. He has a well tempered voice. His articulation gives the correct form of the Spanish sounds, especially in the recorded sentences. Sometimes the vowels in isolated words appear more open or more closed than in the sentences which illustrate their corresponding quality. It would have been advisable, for the complete usefulness of the records, not only to have been more careful with the sounds, but also to have given each sentence the normal intonation corresponding to its sense, instead of the neutral and monotonous level that the speaker has employed. Some words, such as *organdí*, *pelvis*, and *hogaño*, should have been replaced by others more frequently used. Anyway, these records are undoubtedly a good aid for the student of Spanish.

TOMÁS NAVARRO

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MR. I. A. RICHARDS REPLIES

MR. CHAD WALSH's article, 'The Verb System of Basic English' (*American Speech*, October, 1942), represents the sort of inquiry into Basic English which those responsible for that system welcome. It contains,

2. *The Sounds of Spanish*. Spoken by Dr. Juan López-Morillas, recorded by Dr. J. Milton Cowan. Two double-faced records, to be obtained from J. Milton Cowan, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

however, a number of mistaken assumptions which would make it very misleading to those who have not already made a careful study of the subject.

Mr. Walsh's analysis is very familiar not only to those who designed Basic, but to all those who have had any extensive experience of its use. Basic, being a limited language, does, of course, make wide use of its words; it does thereby require an understanding—and, to a less degree, an active mastery—of many phrases which those who have not made a close study of the technique of teaching Basic will class as idioms and will suppose must be learned as 'unanalyzable' or as 'separate words' and remembered as brute facts (like unfamiliar roots). No one who uses Basic for a day can fail to be aware that these phrases (of several different categories, however) are among the tools with which this limited language does its work. No one who has taught Basic, or designed texts for the Basic learner, fails to become aware that teaching the command of such phrases is, at a certain stage, a main part of his undertaking. But no one who has had this experience is in the least daunted by these realizations. And no one with that experience is tempted (as those without it, those with a merely grammatical or abstract or remote approach sometimes are) to think that these things are to be counted as among 'the mistakes of Basic English.' Why not?

The first reason is that Basic is no longer an experiment to be tried. It has been tried. And those who have tried it with understanding—that is, who have tried Basic English and not something else—have no doubts on the matter. The first job of the critic now is to acquaint himself with Basic in operation, not to invent reasons why it should not work. We would be more impressed by the theoretical doubter if he were more anxious to watch Basic in action. Linguistic studies are no longer doctrinal.

Secondly, these phrases, which take the place of single verbs, are an extremely important part of any standard modern English. 'English,' Mr. Walsh says truly, 'has an increasing tendency to develop these combinations' (p. 139). The selection from them which Basic makes must in any case be learned by anyone who is to gain a real grasp of general colloquial English.

Mr. Walsh instances *give up* and *give out* in this connection (p. 139, same paragraph) as specially troublesome for the foreigner. The central sense of *give up* is very easily taught by means of a gesture of surrender or a picture of prisoners of war putting their hands up. The sense of the 'idiom' is tied in fact to a nearly universal bit of sign-language. It needs a minute's teaching, no doubt; what point of English does not? But when

it is learned, how much work will it do? What one verb will anyone suggest as of equal utility? *Abandon, abdicate, abjure, cede, desert, desist, forego, forsake, . . . relinquish, renounce, resign, vacate, withdraw or yield* have this central sense in common, but with what niceties of contextual reference and prepositional-adverbial accompaniments. We must not overlook the fact that these verbs are themselves very tricky items. 'The Germans — Bizerte in a hurry.' Consider what problems are raised if we fill this out with verbs from even this short list. Will anyone seriously maintain that when *give* and *up* have been learned in their key senses (which must, no one will deny, be learned anyhow), the mastery of *give up* offers a tithe of the difficulty of learning even two or three out of such a range of unrelated words with their subtle implications and restrictions of usage? Or even that *give up* is as hard, then, to learn as any one of them; or that the learner is less likely to meet it in conversation than to meet the most frequently used verb which may in some contexts take its place?

Similar considerations apply to *give out*. The phrase of course has many meanings. *To announce, to exude, to exhale, to liberate* (e.g., a gas), *to distribute, to be exhausted* are conspicuous among them. But the context will almost always be a sufficient guide to their discrimination, while the known key senses of *give* and *out* act as dominant clues. Where there might be misunderstanding a good writer will easily prevent it. In brief, there is a false suggestion in the equation (at the end of this same paragraph in Mr. Walsh's article) of an 'unanalyzable verb' with an 'unanalyzable combination of verb and adverb.' The phrases admitted into Basic are in the vast majority of instances not 'unanalyzable' in the same sense. Though the components (*give* and *out*, say) do not explicitly determine the meaning of the phrase, they go a long way towards doing so. The context and a little teaching do the rest. So the pictures Mr. Walsh alludes to illustrating 'put up with him' are mnemonics (tested and proved to be effective) rather than explanations. It should be noted moreover that *put up with* is listed in *The Basic Words* as among the last points in the use of *put* and *up* to be taught and that the context of a typical lesson which presents it is, 'So even those who saw that war was bad had the opinion that it was necessary, and that they would have to put up with it.' Several things are being taught together in that sentence, in such a fashion that they mutually support one another. *In that context*, the Basic phrase is clear and telling. Other uses, for other contexts, of *put up with* which were illustrated in Mr. Ogden's text are there because they also mutually support one another.

While we are on this point, consider *tolerate* for a moment. Mr. Walsh remarks (at the foot of p. 140) that in Basic English 'the common phrase

"to put up with" replaces *tolerate* in all constructions.' It does not do so in all contexts, however. When we tolerate a friend's behavior we put up with it, no doubt. But when we tolerate other men's opinions we do not merely put up with them; we 'let men freely say what they have to say' in Basic. Compare again the tricks of the verb *to bear* (which march at points with those of *to tolerate*). These verbs which are alleged to be so much easier than the Basic phrases are often by no means simple to handle.

The third reason why those who have seen Basic at work in the classroom are not frightened by these phrases is that they have seen how the component parts of them are taught. They know that such phrases often bewilder the foreign student of English and that this is chiefly because he is (even after years of study) quite uncertain as to the key senses of the words which make them up. Indeed the fact that they have key senses has most likely never been brought to his attention. As a rule he has tried helplessly to hang them on to supposed equivalents in his own tongue. 'Any construction that involves prepositions is likely to differ bewilderingly from language to language,' remarks Mr. Walsh (p. 139). He seems to think that prepositions should be taught by giving Spanish, French or Chinese equivalents for them! No wonder he supposes that the Basic phrases will be found hard! But, of course, the way to teach the English prepositions (and preposition-adverbs) is to teach their key senses directly (as Basic does) by reference to demonstrable, clearly seen and understood positions and movements of things in space. Basic recognizes *of* and *for* as exceptions to this and treats them separately. This is the only way in which 'thinking in English' as opposed to thinking in some translated other language can be induced. Mr. Walsh, for example, remarks that 'a foreigner might find it hard to decide whether one does damage *to*, *at* or *against* a building.' He will certainly—if he is not as clear as we can make him about the key senses of these prepositions, or if he lightheartedly believes they go parallel with prepositional uses in his own language. Note that *damage* is anyhow a noun as well as a verb in full English and that Mr. Walsh's problem is in no way a special difficulty of Basic! But intelligent and graded teaching can at least be a great help to the learner in showing that *to* is primarily concerned with movement and pointing, *at* with position, and *against* with pressure; and thus that *do damage* is likely to be followed (along with *give a blow to*, *give food to*, *do things to*, *do nothing to*, *do good to*, *do credit to*. . .) by *to*. He can be helped also to see that 'The boys did damage *at* the end of the street' would mean something different. Mr. Walsh here cites 'I had a look at him,' without noting however that the difficulties (which no one will minimize) of the prepositions are not removed by substituting 'I looked at him.' If we try 'I re-

garded him,' and think we have avoided difficulties, we have the tricks of *regard* to consider. Is *regarding a thing* the same as *having a regard for it*? There are good reasons indeed for not encouraging beginners in English to exploit functional shifts too soon.

No instructed teacher, of course, would think of treating such phrases as isolated units to be memorized as such—'to be learned as though they were compound words.' The difficulties of the Basic phrases are by no means (as Mr. Walsh suggests) unconnected. 'The idiomatic difficulties are heightened by the multiplicity of unrelated meanings,' he says on p. 139. But the phrases admitted in Basic are not unrelated. A very careful organization and selection of them was made and recorded in *The Basic Words*—a book which Mr. Walsh has apparently overlooked. Needless to say, this book's listings are essential to an understanding of what Basic is and does. No one claims that the phrases admitted into Basic do not have to be learned. The claim is that they form, as they are taught, a mutually supporting system, more intelligible and therefore more easily learned than any other selection of English of a comparable scope.

Another of Mr. Walsh's criticisms is rather harder to reply to.

Type 8 (*I got ready, I made [things] hot*) is three times as common in BE as in StE. Here, again, the foreigner pays for having only a short word-list to learn. Such phrases are extremely idiomatic. *I made things hot for him*, if not carefully explained, would suggest the care given to a sick person. The great frequency of *get* in the sense of 'become' in BE is also confusing, since the word retains its other uses ('acquire', etc.). (P. 139.)

What reader will not suppose that 'I made things hot for him' is a Basic phrase? It is not. *Hot* is not a Basic word. (Other words take over its work.) This is not the only instance in which Mr. Walsh discusses non-Basic phrases as though they were Basic English. It is a little hard here to see where the argument is going. The paragraph seems to show that 'the foreigner pays for having' to learn *hot* which is not in Basic. 'I made things hot for him' is Standard English, but not Basic English, and Basic English has no responsibility for teaching it. However, Mr. Walsh is overlooking context pressure in an extreme degree in his ingenious suggestion about the sick person. All this is another indication that he thinks of these phrases as isolated oddments to be taught out of a phrase-book and 'memorized as though they were separate words.'

The next sentence shows a deeper and more general mistake. *Get* in the sense of 'become' is very frequent. It has other uses. But there is no question of the importance of *get* in all of its uses in *Standard English*. And they are no harder to teach in a subject you call Basic than in a subject you call English. The fact that Basic English works *get* hard, and gives the

learner a relatively extensive experience of these uses is an advantage to the learner—who has anyhow to master them. The whole policy of Basic English is that it is wiser to learn the most useful parts of English thoroughly than to get a shaky acquaintance with a lot of it.

Let us turn from these details to a more general aspect of Mr. Walsh's article. After describing the over-simple technique by which he arrived at his material he gives this table of *Relative Frequency of Verbal Constructions* in Basic and Standard English (p. 138).

Construction, with examples	Occurrences	
	StE	BE
1. Verb in all tenses (<i>I go, am going, went, shall go, etc.</i>)	107	83
2. Modal auxiliary plus infinitive without 'to' (<i>I may go, I could have gone, etc.</i>)	15	7
3. Verb plus infinitive (<i>I want to go, etc.</i>)	11	3
4. Verb plus noun (<i>I put the question, etc.</i>)	5	18
5. Verb plus noun plus preposition (<i>I do damage to [the house], etc.</i>)	1	8
6. Verb plus preposition plus noun (<i>I put [him] to death, etc.</i>)	0	4
7. Verb plus preposition-adverb (<i>I gave out, etc.</i>)	2	4
8. Verb plus adjective (<i>I got ready, I made [things] hot, etc.</i>)	2	6
9. Verb plus adjective plus infinitive (<i>I am able to sing, etc.</i>)	3	9

Many grave doubts may be felt as to the composition of the table; but I am concerned here only with Mr. Walsh's interpretation of it. With Types 2 and 9 'there is a gain in simplicity,' he concedes, in favor of Basic English. Types 1 and 3 'are paralleled in the familiar languages of Europe.' Type 4 'is a familiar construction in many languages.' So far, I take it, there is no complaint against their use in Basic. These five types total 120 occurrences out of 142. It is against the remaining 22 only that his remark, 'In every other case, the more difficult constructions are favored by Basic English,' should apply—a sentence hardly supported by even the 'facts' in Mr. Walsh's table.

I have considered the instances he advances in discussing these types and the defective assumptions as to teaching practice on which his objections rely. In which instances, I ask, is the Basic phrase not: a) as necessary to a general understanding of English constructions as the alternative expressions it takes precedence of in Basic teaching; b) as simple to learn (if properly prepared for and taught) as the disconnected verb postponed in its favor; c) better linked up with the growing body of the learner's English than its rivals; d) a point of English which will in any case have to be learned, if the learner is going beyond a very limited acquaintance with English?

I must now turn to examine some as yet undiscussed points which appear in Mr. Walsh's conclusions. 'Phrases of the verb-plus-adverb type,

such as *give out* and *put up with*, run counter to the language habits of Romance speakers' (p. 143). They do, but is that an objection? Many other features of English run counter to the language habits of Russians and Chinese. No form of English can possibly be peculiarly easy to everyone. The task was to work out a minimum English which should be, by virtue of its scope, inner lucidity and economy, more easily learned by *everyone* than any other. Mr. Walsh goes on to say that 'the frequency of such constructions in Basic English accentuates one of the most difficult parts of Standard English grammar.' But these constructions are a part of Standard English grammar. They are a necessary part of it. They are unavoidable and they are difficult. The teacher's job is precisely to accentuate such necessary, inescapable though difficult parts, and to bring them as clearly as possible to the learner's attention. And the frequency of their appearance in Basic English is part of the explanation of the success with which Basic English teaches them.

There remains the repeated assertion that Basic English creates 'wholly unnecessary difficulties . . . difficulties which are lacking in StE' (p. 143). I do not find that Mr. Walsh has given one example. We have to ask: 'To whom are these difficulties presented?' Not to the foreigner, for the mixed paradigms Mr. Walsh constructs are not presented to him. If he goes over from Basic into a wider range of Standard English (few if any students of Basic English do not) the normal paradigms of unlimited Standard English become available. In fact it has been found that the transition is made swiftly and with no special trouble. Actual results are so much in favor of a Basic introduction to English that it might be worth Mr. Walsh's while to look into them.

I conclude then that this 'most perplexing feature of Basic English grammar, and the one hardest to justify from a common-sense viewpoint,' is really not a bit perplexing to the foreigner—who naturally does not see it 'from a Standard English viewpoint.' Can it be that the trouble comes from taking a grammarian's—not a common-sense—standpoint? 'Before anyone can decide whether these uses are desirable, the grammar of the language must be looked into, and compared with that of Standard English.' Has grammar now become a normative science again? And does Mr. Walsh suppose that these comparisons have not been made—and made available?

Finally the suggestion embodied in Mr. Walsh's abbreviations BE and StE—that Basic is not Standard English—is misleading. No part of English is the whole of it.

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The word (in *C.T.* B3562) means 'hood of glass.'

AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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Long lists have been compiled of words formed out of what Harold Wentworth calls neo-pseudo-suffixes. ANW has commented on a number of these, including *-cast*, *-burger*, *-legger*, *-aroo*, and others. How deeply the habit of dissecting words is ingrained in American English may be seen perhaps better, however, in those suffixes of which there are but a few scattered examples and which have yet to become popular. Herewith are listed a number of them, which also meet the condition of not being independent words used in some nonce-combination (such as *busting* or *fest*):

<i>Word of origin</i>	<i>Coinage</i>	<i>Source</i>
gymnasium	trainasium	<i>Amer. Speech</i> Feb. 1943 p. 76/1
philatelist	pencilatelist	<i>Topeka Capital</i> 10 Jan. 1940
sabotage	radiobotage	<i>Words</i> Dec. 1941 p. 97/1
saboteur	radioboteur	<i>Ibid.</i>
icicle	Popsicle	(A trade name long in use.)
hydraulic	magdraulic	<i>Scient. American</i> Mar. 1943 p. 124
entrepreneur, connoisseur, coiffeur, etc.	scripteur ¹	<i>Time</i> (Air Exp. Ed.) 25 Aug. 1941 p. 24/2
danseuse, chanteuse, etc.	scripteuse	<i>Time</i> (Air Exp. Ed.) 23 June 1941 p. 32/2
	strippeuse	<i>Life</i> 2 Jan. 1939 p. 15; <i>Time</i> (Air Exp. Ed.) 13 Oct. 1941 p. 36/1
	stripteuse	<i>Time</i> 28 Sep. 1942 (play on <i>tease</i>)
frankfurter	turkeyfurter	<i>Words</i> Jan. 1940
photogenic	radiogenic ²	Sinclair Lewis, <i>Gideon Planish</i> , 1943, p. 418
	telegenic	<i>Good Housekeeping</i> Feb. 1941 p. 19
succotash	Bean-o-tash	<i>Collier's</i> 13 Apr. 1940
cellophane	Clari-phane ²	<i>Topeka, Kan. newspaper</i> 17 Nov. 1939

1. The suffixes *-eur* and *-euse* seem to be the 'artistic' forms of *-or* and *-oress*.

2. Bona fide suffixes, but not in the senses used.

elastic	Perma-lastic	Observed in Los Angeles 4 Dec. 1941
chandelier	Fleur-o-lier	<i>Sat. Eve. Post</i> 13 July 1940
tamale	turkeymallies	Observed in Los Angeles 7 Aug. 1940
macaroni	Tenderoni	Van Camp's adv., 13 May 1942
ersatz	hairsatz	<i>Time</i> 16 Feb. 1942 p. 32/3
landscape,		
seascape	lipscape	Los Angeles <i>Downtown Shopping News</i> 28 Aug. 1940 p. 2
	contourscape	<i>Kenyon Review</i> Spring 1942 p. 255
advertising	bookvertising	<i>Amer. Speech</i> Feb. 1943 p. 42/2
advertiser	bidvertiser	<i>Ibid.</i> Dec. 1942 p. 283/1
sandwich	Spamwich	<i>Sat. Eve. Post</i> 18 Jan. 1941 p. 77
	turkeywich	<i>Words</i> Mar. 1941 p. 13/1
	duckwich	<i>Ibid.</i>

Of the citations in the following list, seven were supplied by Mr. John Bethel, three by Miss Mamie Meredith, and one each by Mr. Jerry Shaw, Mr. Atcheson L. Hench, Mr. I. Willis Russell, Mr. Allen Walker Read, and Mr. N. E. Saxe.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk used after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

+ANGLO. [*Anglo-American*, 1828-, *American Speech* Apr. 1943 p. 120/1] An American of English-speaking descent. A term used especially in New Mexico.—1943 *New Mexico Quarterly Review* Spring p. 33 Native Anglos and Spanish Americans of New Mexico.

ANTIPERSONNEL MINE.—1942 *Reader's Digest* Dec. p. 83/1 The anti-personnel mine . . . was dramatically introduced by the Germans in the fall of 1939. . . . Its chief feature was an arrangement whereby the mine, on being tripped, was boosted out of the ground to about the height of a man's waist before exploding. It was really a bomb, which sprayed a wide area with shrapnel. 1942 P. W. Thompson *What the Citizen Should Know about the Army Engineers* (Norton) p. 137 The anti-personnel mine usually operates on a hair-

trigger trip-type of mechanism, and usually explodes with a shrapnel effect.

BYPASS. [Perh. from engineering sense, 1886-]. To pass up, disregard; *specif.*, to outflank.—1942 *Time* 2 Feb. p. 63/3 Reclaimed rubber, ordinarily bypassed by manufacturers because it wears out faster than natural [= virgin] rubber. 1943 Station WQXR newscast 9 Oct. To . . . bypass Kolombangara.

+CAMELBACK.—1942 *Manual of Retreading and Recapping* (Rubber Mfg. Ass'n, Inc., New York City, 1st ed. copyright 1940) p. 1 The term 'camelback,' broadly used, refers to the uncured rubber applied to the worn tire to make the new tread. More specifically, when this uncured tread has tapered wings extending from the shoulders it is called 'camelback,' whereas if it has an abrupt bevel at the shoulders it is called 'cap-

ping stock.' Camelback is used for both retreads and full recaps. Capping stock is used on top-caps only.

+CAR POOL. An arrangement for sharing transportation in private automobiles.—1942 *Reader's Digest* Dec. p. 138 I don't believe I care for anything, thank you. I'm just in their car pool. 1943 *McCall's* Apr. p. 15 On a master map of the city car pools are plotted.

CHEESECAKE*. +A display, esp. photographic, of girls' legs. 1942 (Berrey and Van den Bark, *Thesaurus of Slang*). —1942 *Time* 24 Aug. p. 14/1-2 The Supreme Empress of Cheesecake, the very Marlene Dietrich herself. 1943 *Life* 3 May p. 104 You can see the photographer isn't as interested in her dress as he is in her legs. Cheesecake hasn't been rationed.

+GRAVEYARD SHIFT. In mining, the last shift, when three daily shifts are employed. 1934 (W.) +A shift (in industry generally) from about midnight to about 8 A.M. 1942 (Berrey and Van den Bark, *Thesaurus of Slang*).—1943 *Reader's Digest* Aug. p. 98/2 This child wandered the streets every night until her parents, who work on the 'graveyard' shift, vacated a bed in the crowded home. *Ibid.* Sep. p. 49/1 The graveyard or late night shift.

HANDIE-TALKIE, HANDY-TALKIE.—1942 *National Geographic* Nov. p. 680 Churchill . . . is holding a 'handie-talkie' radio used for conversation between ground points and planes in the air. 1943 *Fortune* Oct. p. 62 Walkie-talkie, weighing about thirty pounds, has given rise to other units, one of which is the five-pound, eleven-ounce 'transceiver,' designed for paratroops and also used by infantry, which looks like a French telephone and is called handie-talkie. *Time* 27 Sep. p. 83 Don't worry about Johnny. He'll talk his way out—summon ground support, tanks, or planes—with his two-way 'handy-talkie.'

+MEATLEGGERS. [Bootleggers]. One who sells meat contrary to rationing restrictions.—1943 A.P. desp. in *Topeka Journal* 20 Jan. p. 8/5 A typical report, this spokesman added, was of 'meatleg-

gers' going to farmers and buying cattle at higher than market prices, taking the cattle to hidden slaughterhouses for butchering, and peddling the meat at extra-legal prices, either direct to the public or thru retail stores. Baltimore *Sun* 10 Feb. p. 6/2 The hunt for 'meatleggers.'

MOLOTOV BREADBASKET. [*Breadbasket*, a large bomb that explodes in midair releasing many smaller bombs. c.1941 (W.)]—1942 *Britannica Book of the Year* p. 455. 1943 Robert Considine, ed., *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (N.Y., Random House) p. 40 Doolittle also told us that we would carry another bomb, a 500-pound incendiary, something like the old Russian Molotov Breadbasket.

PARITY. Equivalence in another currency. [1886]. +—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 2 June p. 2/3 'Parity' is a political concept which holds that the farmer should receive prices for his products which will give him a purchasing power (in terms of other commodities) equal to that which he had in the period 1909-14. 1937 McIntosh and Orr *Practical Agriculture for High Schools* (Amer. Book Co.) p. 15 Show the actual and parity prices of the major farm products.

+POWERHOUSE. A building which houses machinery for furnishing power. 1881-. +Something very strong. 1942 (Berrey and Van den Bark, *Thesaurus of Slang*).—c.1928 Edgar Wallace *Captains of Souls* (London, John Long) p. 31 He is like a power-house. When I shake hands with him I feel as though I'm going to get a bad burn! 1941 *Saturday Evening Post* 1 Feb. p. 54/3 A thresher is one of the few powerhouses in the shark family. *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 15 Sep. p. 25/3 In the final, Powerhouse Kovacs was too much for Riggs in the first set, 7-5. *Ibid.* 29 Sep. p. 2/1 The American Legion struck Isolationism a ruinous blow last week—a ponderous, powerhouse, meat-ax crusher.

+PRESSURIZE. To provide with air under pressure, as an aircraft for breathing purposes to compensate for low natural pressure at high altitudes.—1938 *Time* 23 May p. 33 Without pressurized

cabins, planes now fly as high as 14,000 feet; with them, passengers will feel no discomfort at *DC-4's* service ceiling, 22,900 feet. 1942 *ibid.* 2 Mar. p. 50/2 With pressurized cabins, the Constellation is expected to fly comfortably at 30,000 feet.

+RANGER. A member of a body of armed men, usually mounted, employed to range over an area for its protection. 1670-. +A member of an organization of American soldiers, created in December, 1941, formed of volunteers, and trained in close-range fighting for raids on enemy territory. The American counterpart of the British *commando*.—1942 *New York Times* 20 Aug. 1/5 The first American troops to receive a baptism of fire in Europe in this war were the men of the United States Ranger Battalion who fought in the Dieppe raid today. It was the first time the name Rangers had appeared in a war communiqué anywhere.

RESTORE. To bring back to the original state. [1679-]. +To bring back (a food) to the original nutritive value of its ingredients.—1943 *Lone Ranger* broadcast 6 Sep. Restored cereal.

+SKYGLOW. Glow in the sky caused by reflection of city lights.—1942 *Progressive* 1 Aug. p. 9/3 Newport. . . This city will have a Dimout Ball. . . Brown, chairman of the Newport Civilian Defense Council, has approved the event after being assured that the plans will conform with all the Army's dimout regulations and that there will be no skyglow. 1943 *New Haven Evening Register* 7 Aug. p. 5/2 Some communities had so far relaxed their dimout regulations that they were providing a dangerous skyglow.

+SMOOTHIE. A smooth-mannered person; an attractive person. 1942 (Berrey and Van den Bark, *Thesaurus of Slang*).—1933 *Reader's Digest* Dec. p. 66/2 (A type of university student). 1937 Jennifer Jones *Murder-on-Hudson* (Milwaukee, Red Arrow Books 1939) p. 143 She's a smoothie, if there ever was one. 1940 *New Republic* 17 June p. 819/1 The American people are tired of the smoothy

in politics. 1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 1 Sep. p. 19/2 (Caption of item on the very diplomatic Gen. Andrews).

+SNAZZY. Stylish and somewhat flashy.—1938 Whitman Chambers *Once Too Often* (New York, Mercury Books) p. 9 It was indeed a very snazzy setup and I wondered how many months he was in arrears with his rent. 1942 *Sears, Roebuck* circular 9 July Snazzy colors that boys like.

SPEARHEAD, *n.* A person or body of persons chosen to lead a thrust or attack. [1929-]. + *v.* To act as a spearhead for.—1938 *Los Angeles Daily News* 27 July p. 8/1 Liberal leader who spearheaded the debate. 1942 *Mexican Labor News* 24 Mar. p. 3 Mussolini's warriors were routed by Spanish Republicans spearheaded by an anti-fascist Italian battalion. *Time* 18 May p. 23/2 Marines and Commandomen . . . spearheaded by light tanks.

SPIRAL, *v.* To wind or move in a spiral manner. [1834-]. +To rise disproportionately (said of prices, rates, etc.)—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 20 Oct. p. 35/1 Even if import and farm prices resist all controls, processors' and retailers' prices will rise but not spiral with them. 1942 Edwin W. Kemmerer *The A B C of Inflation* (McGraw-Hill) p. 156 If wages and the prices of farm products are not adequately restricted but are permitted to spiral upward . . . the whole price situation will get out of control. *n.* A rise of such a nature.—1943 *Reader's Digest* Sep. p. 50/2 The Administration and the leaders in business and in labor must . . . bring the whole menacing spiral to a halt.

STAKHANOVISM. A Russian technique of speed-up and efficiency for increasing industrial production.—1939 *Nation* 16 Dec. p. 67/2 The Stakhanov movement of 1936 was part of this economic offensive. The real significance of Stakhanovism has been buried under a confusion of arguments as to whether or not it was speed up.

STAKHANOVIST, STAKHANOVITE. An adherent of Stakhanovism; also attrib.—1940 *New Republic* 18 Nov. p. 685/1 NDAC officials estimate that, in

many industries, skilled workers are obliged to spend as much as 85 percent of their time on unskilled routine tasks. Under the 'up-grading' program, each skilled worker is to be provided with a sufficient number of helpers so that all his time can be given to his specialty. This is the 'gang-system'; its resemblance . . . to the Stakhanovist technique of Soviet Russia is marked. 1943 *National Geographic* May p. 537 Because he exceeded his normal output, Butuzov earns big bonuses and is a *stakhanovite*. The name is applied to those who follow the technique of Stakhanov, a coal miner who perfected the Soviet speed-up system. *Saturday Evening Post* 8 May p. 63/2 Before me was an elderly woman turning the handle of a stamping machine. . . . She was the best Stakhanovite of the works and all were proud of her.

+SWING SHIFT. In industry, a shift from about 4 P.M. to midnight.—1941 Baukhage newscast 14 Dec. 1943 *Reader's Digest* Sep. p. 49/1 The swing (or early night) shift.

+SWINGSTER, SWINGSTRESS. One who plays or sings swing music. 1940 Pearson and Allen col. 1 May His [Jerry Sadler's, candidate for governor of Texas] swingsters now rival O'Daniel's family radio act. 1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 13 Oct. p. 26/1 Swingstress Ella Logan swung *Tipperary*. 1942 *Time* 20 Apr. p. 47 Swingster Gene Krupa. 1943 *Lincoln Star and Journal* 29 Aug. Swingstress of the nation Dinah Shore.

+TELECASTER. A television broadcaster.—1940 *Nation* 6 Apr. p. 448/1 No telecaster will want to operate on a system incapable of reaching the full potential audience. 1940 Ed. J. Porterfield and K. Reynolds *We Present Television* (Norton) p. 47 Television standards in the United States must be uniformly adopted by all telecasters.

+TRAILERITE. One who lives in a trailer.—1940 A. P. desp. in *Topeka Capital* 28 Jan. p. 16B/5 Many trailerites, caught unprepared by Florida's worst cold spell. 1941 *Reader's Digest* Oct. p. 25/1 A six-acre camp occupied by about 400 trailerites.

+WHODUNIT, WHODUNNIT. Detective fiction.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 11 Aug. p. 10/3 Paper-covered libraries ranging from Shakespeare to whodunits. 1942 advt. *Topeka Capital* 1 Mar. p. 6C The season's wackiest who-dun-it! 'No Hands on the Clock' [a movie]. 1943 *Writer's Digest* Apr. p. 15/1 Magazines use twice as many straight serials as whodunnits.

ZIP. To move briskly or with a zip. [1907-]. +To close with or as with a slide fastener.—1942 advt. *Time* 23 Feb. p. 78 Zips flawlessly. . . . CONMAR, the MAJOR Zipper. 1942 Green Hornet broadcast 8 Aug. Zip your lip.

+ZIPPERED. Equipped with a slide fastener.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 25 Aug. p. 2/3 His zippered ankle-high shoes. 1943 *Topeka Journal* 21 Apr. p. 1A/4 The latest in bathing suits . . . with rigid front and zippered elastic back.

MISCELLANY

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RECORDED APPEARANCE

Suppose a word has no 'recorded appearance,' must it be denied a place in the language? Of course not, yet that is the implication of the practice of basing dictionaries on the written record. Perhaps that is the only feasible method, but it should be used in full consciousness that much of the language is unrecorded and that our lexicons are correspondingly incomplete. (It has the further disadvantage of giving undue weight to the personal inventions of authors.)

Numerous fruitless consultations of the word books have laid the basis for these comments, none perhaps more definitely involved than search for the word *chounse*.¹ It refers to the familiar household operation of shaking a pillow or tick to disperse the lumps, hence is probably a genuine folk term. My impression in that respect was greatly strengthened when I learned from Dr. M. M. Mathews that he was familiar with this word in the same sense where he grew up in Clarke County, Alabama. When a term is thus found in the dialects of widely separated localities, almost certainly it is old; it has probably had generations, and may have had centuries, of use. Yet this expression has not been found in

any word list that I have so far consulted.

Suppose some compiler had caught it and the lexicons had in turn cited its first recorded appearance, as say 1830. What would that reveal except almost entire ignorance of the history of the word? In the case of supposedly little-used words, we sometimes are favored with a citation showing its latest (or worse 'last') recorded appearance, but that is a still more futile performance, as in print any word can be revived at any time.

Thus 'recorded appearance' of a word may have no significance with respect to the real appearance or origin of the term in, or to its disappearance from, the language. Studies to reveal recorded appearance deal, perforce, with only the written, indeed usually the printed, moiety of the language, which in relation to the whole, is but 'a drop in the bucket.' They are similar to the medieval philosophers' quest as to the number of teeth of a horse that was carried to the pages of Aristotle rather than to the mouth of some convenient steed.

The writer yields to none in appreciation and admiration of beautifully written English, either prose or poetry, but he sees the necessity of conceding that the printed word, vast libraries of it to the contrary notwithstanding, is only a part in fact, a small part of the real, living

1. W. L. McAtee, *Rural Dialect of Grant County, Indiana, in the 'Nineties* (1942), pp. 10, 18.

language. To that main body, the speech of the people, linguistic studies should be increasingly directed. Indeed we are greatly at fault that wonderful opportunities for study of the foundation and development of American language have already been lost. It seems strange that so definitely American an objective has not had more appeal to our philanthropists who have been willing to support so many cultural studies in distant lands.

If language must be recorded to become usable for lexicons, then let us industriously gather and record it. But let us not assume that 'first' or 'last' records are really that; let them be taken with due allowance as only fragments of the scroll.

W. L. McATEE

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STRONGER, 'EARLIER'

During 1938 and 1939 I lived in Dayton, Ohio. One of my friends there was Elvin Bright, a native of the section. One morning I called Elvin on the telephone. His mother answered. 'Elvin's already gone,' she said. 'He left here at nine-thirty, or maybe a little bit stronger.' My wife and I puzzled much over the meaning of that 'stronger'—was it 'earlier' or 'later'? Neither of us ever had the courage to ask Mrs. Bright which it was.

About two weeks ago I was speaking to James Hendrickson, who is a production man at Knopf's. Our subject was a book of mine they are publishing this

fall. 'Publication date has been set for September seventh,' Mr. Hendrickson told me, 'so we should have printed copies by the seventh of August, or a little stronger.' This time I asked what the 'stronger' meant and learned that it meant 'earlier.' I also learned that Mr. Hendrickson is from Missouri. Literally, I mean.

I do not find any such definition of the word in any of my dictionaries, though I have many. I am a Kentuckian, and Kentucky is as much midwestern as southern in language, but the two instances described above are the only ones in which I have run into a use of 'stronger' in that sense.

ALBERT H. MOREHEAD

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A GLOSSARY OF CAFÉ TERMS

The following terms are used by waiters and waitresses throughout the counties of East Texas and in most of the parishes of western Louisiana. Some of these terms, of course, are used in other sections; others, however, may be peculiar to this area.

AGGRAVATION. Hamburger.

BACK-BAR. A rack or small counter, behind the eating counter, on which supplies are kept.

BALL ONE. Hamburger.

BALL ONE ON TWO. A hamburger cut in two and put on two plates, usually for two small children with small appetites.

BLINDFOLD A PAIR. Two eggs cooked on one side and then turned.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON PIE. Chocolate pie.

BOSTON COFFEE. Half coffee and half cream.

BUTTER BROWN. Buttered toast.

CAKLE ONE. Egg sandwich.

CANDLESTICK SALAD. A banana cut in two (across the middle) and set upright in potato salad, with salad dressing over it to look like melted tallow.

CIGARETTE CASE. A glass case in which cigars and cigarettes are displayed for sale.

COFFEE JACKET. A small piece of glass tubing on the outside of the coffee urn, indicating the amount of coffee in the urn.

COFFEE SACK. A sack, usually of cotton cloth, through which coffee is strained in the coffee urn.

COLD-WALL DISPENSER. An icebox used for storing cold drinks.

DINNER PLATTER. A platter used in serving regular dinners.

DRAW ONE. Cup of coffee.

DRESS UP A HAMBURGER. Hamburger with onions.

DUCK A HALF. Oyster stew (usually contains a half-dozen oysters).

FREIGHT TRAIN AND CUT THE CABOOSE. Two hot cakes.

FRY A DOZEN. A dozen fried oysters.

FRY A HALF. A half-dozen fried oysters.

FRY TWO. Two eggs fried on one side.

GEORGE WASHINGTON PIE. Cherry pie.

GRAVEYARD STEW. Milk toast.

HAMBURGER CARNIVAL STYLE. Hamburger with mustard, pickles, and onions.

HASHER. A boy or man who waits on customers.

HASHER'S COLIC. Waiter's sickness from overeating.

HOT SWIMMERS. Catfish.

JAM SANDWICH. A sandwich of meat and bread, without dressing.

JUICY PIG. Barbecued pork sandwich.

JUNIOR ORDER OF HAM AND EGGS. One egg and a small piece of ham.

LINE ONE. A regular dinner.

MISTREAT TWO. Two scrambled eggs.

MONKEY PIE. Coconut pie.

ONE DOWN. A signal by one waiter to another that a customer has just sat down.

ONE FOOT IN THE GRAVEYARD. Soup.

OPEN-FACE STYLE. Arrangement of a sandwich with the slices of bread side by side instead of on top of one another.

PICK UP. A signal of a cook to a waiter that an order he turned in is ready to be served.

PLAIN SARATOGA. A sandwich with ham and beef.

POP ONE. Coca-Cola.

RAILROAD IT. Hurry up the order.

REGULAR DINNER (or DINNER). A meal the items of which have been previously prepared in rather large quantities, and which is all served on a dinner platter.

ROCK ISLAND. Irish stew.

ST. PAUL SANDWICH. Sandwich made of four pieces of bread, with sliced chicken between two pieces and egg between the other two.

SANDWICH MAN. An employee with no duties except making sandwiches.

SANDWICH PLATE. A small plate used in serving sandwiches or hamburgers.

SHIPWRECK A PAIR. Two scrambled eggs.

SPACHEL [spatula]. A flat, shovel-like instrument used to turn eggs, hamburgers, and the like.

STACK. Three hot cakes.

STRIP A STACK. Three hot cakes with bacon.

TIGHTEN UP ON ONE. A cheeseburger.

TRUCK DRIVER'S BREAKFAST. Ham and eggs.

TURN TWO. Two eggs cooked on one side and then turned and cooked on the other side.

TWO HARD DAYS' WORK FOR TWO HENS AND SOMETHING I DON'T HAVE. Brains and eggs.

WATER JACKET. A small piece of glass tubing, similar to the *coffee jacket*, indicating the amount of water in the coffee urn.

WOP SALAD. A miscellaneous salad made in various ways but usually containing raisins, oranges, and salad dressing.

ORAN B. BAILEY

PRONUNCIATION OF 'LEER'

A furnace in which glass is an-

nealed is called *leer* (spelled also *lear*, *lehr*, *lier*) and pronounced according to the dictionaries (*NID*, *OED*) to rhyme with *fear*. The only place I ever heard the word used (date about 1896) was in a glass factory at Marion, Indiana, called Canton presumably because moved from the Ohio city of that name and manned by migrants from that place and by local people. Among the latter were boys who carried hot glassware from the molds to the leer and toward the end of a shift they began a chant, 'Ten more trips to the layer O,' 'Nine more trips to the layer O,' and so on, in joy at the prospect of finishing their stint. They said 'layer,' distinctly in two syllables, and with the same sound used for the term *layer*, meaning part of a cake.

W. L. McATEE

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TWO QUERIES ABOUT AMERICAN PLACE-NAMES

Here are two questions about American place-names which the usual works of reference do not answer.

What are the limits, in time and geography, of the Virginian practice of omitting the word 'County' in county names? It takes the Northern reader of Civil War history some time to realize that the name of the Wilderness of Spotsylvania has no reference to the town of Spotsylvania Courthouse, but means the Wilderness of Spotsylvania County. Is this usage still general in Virginia, and how far

through the South does it extend? Writers as unlike as Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and Sidney Lanier show that in the nineteenth century, at least, it was common in Georgia, but acquaintances from the Carolinas tell me that today, in those states, they habitually add 'County.'

So far as my own knowledge goes, New York, New England, and the Middle West always use the word 'County' even when, as in Berkshire County, it is tautological. The one New York State exception is Westchester, and that exception is only apparent. As a colleague points out, when a New Yorker speaks of Westchester without the suffix, he is referring rather to a state of mind or of society than to a political subdivision. But in California literature I have frequently found such names as Sonoma and Tuolumne used alone.

The other question concerns local pronunciations of imported names. Californians make some effort to pronounce Spanish names according to the Spanish rules, but the rest of the country is more independent. It goes by the light of nature; not by the gazetteer. The gazetteer, however, retaliates by ignoring these local forms and, if it gives pronunciations at all, adhering to the standard usage. Here are a few samples, from personal knowledge, which I submit to encourage other contributors:

Glencoe, Cook Co., Ill.: ['glenkou]
Tyrone, Blair Co., Pa.: ['tarroun]
Riga, Monroe Co., N.Y.: [raɪgə]
Chili, Monroe Co., N.Y.: ['tʃaɪlaɪ]

Bergen, Genesee Co., N.Y.:

[bɜrdʒən]

Corinth, Saratoga Co., N.Y.:

[kɔ'rɪnθ]

Gnadenhutzen, Tuscarawas Co., O.:

[dʒə'neɪdŋhʌtŋ]

Ghent, Summit Co., O.: [dʒɛnt]

Nevada, Wyandot Co., O.:

[nə'veɪdə]

DELANCEY FERGUSON

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AGENT-NOUN NEOLOGISMS

'Farmatroopers will meet Monday evening in Cortland to discuss plans for poultry raising, which will be attended by a number of Beatrice business men.' Lincoln (Nebr.) *State Journal*, August 17, 1943.

'Gardeneers, "Tenshun! Don't smoke while transplanting tomato plants,' warns *The Family Circle*, August 20, 1943.

'Cookie pushers is a newspaper men's term for thwarted "career men" in the State Department in Washington, D.C., who wear striped trousers and know the proper gambits for unattractive wives of foreign secretaries.' Bennett Cerf in 'Trade Winds' in *Saturday Review of Literature*, July 24, 1943, p. 18.

A mid-western newspaper headline telling of the death of Ignatius Timothy Lincoln in Shanghai a few years ago read 'Ignatius Lincoln, *Adventurist*, Dies.'

'A new word to us and one that holds promise of usefulness, is *alibist*. We find it in a grapevine dispatch from Czechoslovakia telling of politicians in Germany's

stooge nations who are now trying to look as if they had been friendly toward the allies all along.' L.A.R. in *New York Times Magazine*, September 5, 1943.

'The American *governmentalists* in Washington are in strange company,' wrote Henry J. Taylor in *Men in Motion*, 1943.

A FURTHER NOTE ON 'HESSIAN'

In view of Paul G. Brewster's comments on the epithet 'Hessian' in *American Speech*, 18: 72-73 (Feb. 1943), it is worth noting that the Dutch word *Hes*, 'Hessian,' in South Africa also has the meaning 'clumsy fellow, stupid fellow.' Whether the earliest British garrisons at the Cape contained Hessians, it now seems impossible to tell, but in any case German mercenary soldiers are not unknown in South African history. A regiment from Württemberg was sent out to the Cape in 1787-1788 by the Dutch East Indies Company and remained there, more or less intact, until the British occupation in 1795. After the restoration of the Cape to Holland (then the Batavian Republic) by the Peace of Amiens in 1802, a battalion of mercenaries from Waldeck was sent out, together with Dutch contingents, and served there until the second British occupation. It may well have been these Waldeckers who suggested the figurative use of the word *Hes*. German mercenaries seem to have left memories behind them in other parts of the world than our own.

E. V. K. D.

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